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ABSTRACT

This is a collection of articles, excerpts, poems, essays, and short stories dealing with the increasingly militant and aggressive posture now being assumed by certain segments of the Black community. It attempts to reflect, for the teacher and student, the direction in which great masses of Black Americans are currently moving. The initial chapter, Some Historical Considerations, attempts to compare the Black Revolution today with certain aspects of the American Revolution. Chapter two, Black Power, discusses various interpretations of this concept. Chapters three and four are concerned with the economic and political implications of Black Power. Chapter five, Brothers, discusses the legacy of Malcolm X and closes with statements concerning other alternatives open to Black America. Expression, chapter six, contains several poems and a discussion of the national controversy over the proper name for Americans of African descent, Negro vs. Afro-American vs. Black. The collection is designed to clarify the specific teaching episode prepared for grade 9 during the 1968-69 school year by the Task Force and will serve as a beginning in contemporary race relations. (Author/SBE)

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The New Mood of Black America

Jack W. Moskowitz

Minneapolis Public Schools
Task Force on Minority Cultures
1969

The New Mood of the Black American

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THE NEW MOOD OF THE BLACK AMERICAN: PERSPECTIVES FOR TEACHERS

Lord, We Ain't What We Oughta Be,

We Ain't What We Wanna Be,

We Ain't What We Gonna Be,

But Thank God, We Ain't What We Was. [1]

> "THOSE WHO PROFESS TO FAVOR FREEDOM YET DEPRECATE AGITATION, ARE MEN WHO WANT CROPS WITHOUT PLOWING UP THE GROUND: THEY WANT RAIN WITHOUT THUNDER AND LIGHTENING. THEY WANT THE OCEAN WITHOUT THE AWFUL ROAR OF ITS MANY WATERS.
>
> .....POWER CONCEDES NOTHING WITHOUT DEMAND. IT NEVER DID AND IT NEVER WILL. FIND OUT JUST WHAT ANY PEOPLE WILL QUIETLY SUBMIT TO AND YOU HAVE FOUND OUT THE EXACT MEASURE OF INJUSTICE AND WRONG WHICH WILL BE IMPOSED UPON THEM, AND THESE WILL CONTINUE TILL THEY ARE RESISTED WITH EITHER WORDS OR BLOWS, OR WITH BOTH. THE LIMITS OF TYRANTS ARE PRESCRIBED BY THE ENDURANCE OF THOSE WHOM THEY OPPRESS." [2]

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[1] Bennett, Lerone Jr., Before the Mayflower: A History of the Negro in America 1619:1964, (Baltimore: Penguin Books Inc., Johnson Publishing Co., 1968), p. 359.

[2] Frederick Douglass, West India Emancipation Speech, August, 1857

INTRODUCTION

The New Mood of the Black American is a collection of selections dealing with the increasingly militant and aggressive posture now being assumed by certain segments of the Black community. It attempts to reflect the direction in which great masses of Black Americans are currently moving.

The initial chapter, "Some Historical Considerations," attempts to compare the Black Revolution today with certain aspects of the American Revolution. Chapter two, "Black Power," discusses various interpretations of this concept. Although the phrase most certainly means different things to different people, the theme of the Black man's 'getting together' is basic to all definitions regardless whether Black Power is looked upon as a means or an end. Chapters three and four concern the economic and political implications of Black Power. Chapter five, "Brothers," discusses the legacy of Malcolm X and closes with statements concerning other alternatives open to Black America. "Expression," chapter six, should give the reader some feeling for the new mood of the Black American.

This collection is designed to clarify the specific teaching episode prepared for presentation in grade 9 during the 1968-1969 school year by the Minority Task Force. Teachers may wish to extend that episode by greater in depth study of the topics treated here.

The New Mood of the Black American has specific implications for the educator. It will serve as a beginning for the teacher who desires to become informed in areas of contemporary race relations. Teachers may also utilize the articles, excerpts, poems, essays, and short stories for actual use in the classroom. The New Mood of the Black American however, is intended only as a vehicle to whet the appetites of those concerned and it should be viewed only as such.

I should at this time like to thank the Minneapolis Public School System for the creation of the Task Force on Minority Cultures of which I am currently a member. I should also express my sincere and deepest gratitude to the multitude of students who passed through Lincoln Junior High School and demanded answers to the questions they asked.

Jack W. Moskowitz
Task Force on Minority Cultures

THE NEW MOOD OF THE BLACK AMERICAN

I. SOME HISTORICAL CONSIDERATIONS

A. From *Why Did Washington Burn?* a guide prepared for use by District of Columbia Teachers.

These suggestions for class consideration are provocative introductions to current problems of race relations from the perspective of history. There are no easy and pat answers; rather, they provide new ways of looking at current situations. They are useful for stimulating class interest in more detailed study and reflection.

1. The Declaration of Independence.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the People to alter or to abolish it..."

Speaking in Georgetown on April 13, 1968, Dick Gregory quoted this passage from the Declaration of Independence, pointing out that it can justify revolution for black citizens now as it did for the colonists nearly 200 years ago. The injection of this thought into the classroom should certainly provide some provocative discussions.

2. In one of his last talks in Washington, D.C., Dr. Martin Luther King told his audience he was not unmindful of the concentration camps the United States established for the Japanese-Americans during World War II. This point could be discussed, particularly if it is raised in connection with what has happened to the American Indian. This whole subject raises the question of racial genocide. One should not overlook the rape or "looting" of Africans from their homeland by the white slave traders who began the tradition of racism in the United States.

3. The American Revolution 1776---The Freedom Movement Revolution, 1968.

Carefully read, "Riots and Revolution---Boston, 1770" by Fred M. Henley and "Detroit, 1967" by Raymond A. Schroth, *America*, August, 12, 1967, p. 150. (Both are reprinted on the following pages.)

a. The Boston Tea Party is viewed by American historians as an act of patriotism. England, however, viewed this action as "looting." What were these "vandals" striking out against? Turning to the contemporary scene, what were black citizens striking out against in Detroit, Newark, Watts, Cincinnati, Rochester, Washington, Baltimore and elsewhere?

b. The battle of Lexington and Concord is again viewed by American historians as an act of patriotism. Those who fought were, in fact, engaged in guerilla warfare. They were "snipers." Again, this question can be discussed with respect to the major outbreaks in our urban centers today.

c. The famous Boston Massacre, where a Black American, Crispus Attucks, was shot down by the British, is also viewed as another act of patriotism. The real situation found a group of young men hurling verbal venon and snowballs at the constituted authority, British soldiers. These young men were, in today's language, "inciting a riot." The same point illustrated in items a. and b. above can be raised here.

4. The whole question of law and order, and what this concept means to Black Americans. From the report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, pp. 10-11: "A climate that tends toward approval and encouragement of violence as a form of protest has been created by white terrorism directed against nonviolent protest; by open defiance of law and federal authority, by state and local officials resisting desegregation."

a. Death of Emmett Till in Mississippi, 1956
b. Murder of Medgar Evers, field secretary, Mississippi NAACP, 1963
c. Death of four Sunday school children in a Birmingham, Ala., church, 1963
d. Murder of James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner in Philadelphia, Mississippi, 1964, while with the Mississippi Freedom Project
e. Death of Col. Lemuel Penn of Washington, D.C. while driving through the South
f. Death of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo of Detroit following the Selma to Montgomery, Ala., March, 1965
g. Death of Jimmie Lee Jackson in Selma, Ala., 1965
h. Death of Malcolm X in New York City, 1965
i. Murder of the Orangeburg, S.C. students, 1968
j. Assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Memphis, Tenn., 1968

5. The current governer of Georgia (Maddox) and the former governors of Alabama (Wallaces') are on record as being officially opposed to any laws dealing with civil rights. In this case, who is opposed to "law and order"?

6. The mayor of Dearborn, Michigan is officially sponsoring gun clubs for Dearborn citizens in an effort to prepare for the hot summer. Dearborn is an all white community outside Detroit. What would happen if H. Rap Brown or Stokely Carmichael were openly sponsoring such a "recreational activity?"

B. REVOLUTION--DETROIT, 1967

Raymond A. Schroth

Smoke still billowed from charred wreckage along 12th Street in Detroit. Negro volunteers and priests unloaded emergency food supplies at the West End Improvement Assn. center, across from St. Agnes Church. Three armored personnel carriers, with city policemen popping up through the portholes, chugged into view. One of the policemen spotted me and taunted: "Hey, Father, why aren't you out demonstrating?"

On July 25, I had interrupted my visit to Chicago, where I had gone to observe an unusual interracial experiment, to fly to Detroit. I was depressed and discouraged. I had seen Watts and Rochester and Newark in the aftermath of their purgatories, and read about and witnessed the growing hostility between blacks and whites. I was weighed down by the conviction that white Catholics--along with everyone else--are poorly prepared to understand what is happening to our nation. Although all of life--particularly the Christian life--is, to me, a long, converging process toward unity, the two races seemed farther apart than ever.

In the downtown area of Detroit, the streets were quiet, almost deserted. At outlying liquor stores, proprietors stood guard duty over their treasures with shotguns. I called Visitation parish, near the riot area, and a voice replied: "Have you got any food? Bring food. People will be coming in here all day." I brought food; then, against the pastor's advice, moved deeper into the troubled part of town. Tanks and truckloads of airborne troops rolled by. A sniper had been shooting there that morning.

With a young Detroit priest, Fr. Daniel O'Sullivan, I moved down 12th Street, where the fighting had begun, past smoking hulks of homes and stores. Everywhere people seemed to want to talk, to exclaim their bewilderment and shock. "There just weren't no call for it." An elderly woman asked: "Father, do you think we'll ever survive this as a nation?"

About a dozen State policemen were guarding an intersection where groups of Negroes milled around on the corners. While a crew of German cameramen filmed it all, a Negro youth tried to agitate the crowd. Boys in the crowd mocked him: "Hey, man. You're on TV!" The police, in general, remained patient; but one trooper came up, stuck a rifle barrel in the boy's chest and threw him in a car. A policeman asked Father Dan and myself to help them disperse the crowd. We agreed and walked around, talking to individuals, asking them to go home. "I am home," some replied; but most began to move along.

Suddenly, as we began to cross the street, three more police cars, sirens screaming, lights flashing, tore into the intersection. Brakes screeched, squads of troopers burst out, pointing their rifles in all directions--including ours. The crowds scattered in panic, like pigeons frightened by a shot. One middle-aged Negro did not move fast enough. "Move!" the troopers shouted as three of them beat him to the ground in a doorway and gashed open his forehead with a rifle butt. As he got to his feet, a trooper gave him another rifle butt in the kidney. "Sorry about that bad language I used, Father," the trooper puffed. Father Dan, his light voice trembling with anger, snapped back: "Forget your language! There was no need for what you just did. That man was my parishioner. He was helping me." The German cameramen churned away. "Never in my life have I seen anything like this," said one camerman. "Even in my own country."

A few blocks down the street, busloads of food were coming in to the West End Improvement Assn. The association's president, Joseph W. Williams, a Negro member of the City Planning Commission, talked about the neighborhood. It was an area slated for $11 million in Federal and $6 million in city funds, which would bring about a real area rehabilitation and help the residents--15 per cent of whom were unemployed--make the painful transition from rural to urban life. Williams recalled that six years ago, before he organized the local block clubs, there had been no lights in the alleys, that the garbage had been picked up only every two weeks. He saw issue--oriented, local organization as a key means of bringing power and dignity to to the Negro poor.

Across the street at St. Agnes Church, Fr. John Markham lit his cigar. "The key issue is housing," he said. "You can't crowd over 60,000 people into a mile-and-a-half-square area like this and not expect it to blow up." He praised Joe Williams' work. The Negro people were running the relief operation themselves, he pointed out. The priest is not supposed to be a leader in organizing. He is a "clarifier"; the people should lead. The grim experience of the last few days had not made him bitter or disillusioned. I asked about backlash. "You can't blame the middle-class whites," he said. "They just don't understand. They need our help, too."

The next day, back in Chicago, I talked with Msgr. John Egan, archdiocesan director of the Office of Urban Affairs and pastor of Presentation parish in Lawndale--an area that is very crowded, very black and very much alive. Physically, Msgr. Egan is a small man, but his presence is warm, direct and strong. "It's a new ball game," he said. What was happening that moment in Detroit would force the American Church to re-examine its urban role. The key factor, he believed, that would enable the Negro poor to achieve human dignity, largely through their own efforts, was the neighborhood community organization.

The Federal Model Cities program, Msgr. Egan declared, had learned through the mistakes of urban renewal and the poverty program that the future of a community must be determined to a great extent by the authentic voice of the local poor. The community organization must be the buffer and the interpreter between the voiceless individual and City Hall. It must also be the means by which the local citizens improve their lives and achieve political responsibility. Ideally, the priest's role in all this, the monsignor said, is not that of leader but that of witness. The priest lifts the people's sights beyond the drabness of everyday life to a vision of the ongoing work of human, Christian redemption.

Some of the most exciting community organizing this summer in Lawndale (pop. 200,000) has been done by two Jesuit seminarians--John R. Macnamara and James P. Zeller - and 12 white students from Boston College, Holy Cross, Xavier and other universities. They have moved into two shabby apartments and joined the daily lives of their black neighbors. They have had to overcome suspicion, their own whiteness and the frustration shared by all who work with the poor; but they have made a difference.

They by no means see themselves as Peace Corps types who have come to "help." Rather, they see themselves as political realists, organizing citizens to overcome their dependence on a white power system. This way, they feel, people can negotiate, as equals, within the structure of society to improve their subhuman living conditions. In short, the students were in Lawndale to give the black people power.

But power comes in struggles over issues where the goals are clearly defined and immediately attainable. Negro teen-agers were complaining, for instance, that their little brothers and sisters had no playground in the area. So the students called a meeting on June 13, More meetings followed, each bigger than the previous. They sent off telegrams to city officials, inviting them to come and see for themselves. An alderman came and spoke, but nothing was done. Finally, the newly formed Student Union for Better Education struck back with a "play-in." On July 3, two busloads of Lawndale boys arrived to play basketball on the public courts in Mayor Daley's neighborhood. The white residents cursed and threw bottles at them; but Lawndale got a playground of its own.

On July 12, the students noticed that Lawndale garbage had not been collected in two weeks. Another meeting; another vain effort to get help from City Hall. After publicly demanding that the city remove the garbage the morning of July 13 and getting no action, 15 young men rented a trailer, loaded it with nine cans of garbage, and drove to City Hall, where they deposited the cans neatly on the sidewalk. The group went in to confer with the mayor's aide, who assured the students they would not be arrested. But the moment they left the building, they were arrested. The charge was only littering, yet they were fingerprinted, given "mug shots" and imprisoned for over eight hours. As a result of their efforts for the neighborhood, these boys now--technically--have criminal records; but garbage is being collected. Lawndale residents now know that white men will even go to prison with them if necessary.

Macnamara wrote in a letter to the college students' parents describing the imprisonment and the hearing, at which the judge lectured the group on Chicago's clean image: "I must admit that I was moved to the point of tears as I sat in court watching 15 young men take a beating in the name of justice. If Christianity means anything in the 20th century, it seems to me that it is most evident in situations such as this. These young men made tremendous sacrifices in the hope that the people of Lawndale might lead happier and more human lives. Young men of this kind give me great hope for the future." With one exception, the parents have continued their support.

I spent a routine evening at Msgr. Egan's Presentation parish. A basketball tournament opened on the asphalt lot across from the church. Hundreds of tots yelled and romped on their new play-lot. Msgr..Egan grilled and guided a seminar of Protestant ministers whom he was teaching at the Urban Training Center. A Josephite seminarian from Texas, whom the boys revere, broke up a chain fight in the street. Three children from the play-lot came over to me, asking to be swung around in the air.

On my last evening in Chicago, I talked with the 12 college students of Lawndale about what had been happening to them this summer. In the wake of two victories and a good deal of publicity, a sort of apathy had settled on them. Rumors were circulating that--after Newark and Detroit--Chicago, including Lawndale, was next. What had they really accomplished? they asked. What did their work have to do with the Model Cities program? What was their next issue? Crooked landlords? Who would continue the organizing after they returned to B.C. or Holy Cross? Did it matter? What if one of them were to die?

Some of them thought that, for one thing, they had learned more about what love is. They talked over two passages from St. John. They had seen and felt the affection of Negro children and their families. Some knew the loneliness of a prison cell-and the gratitude of the Negro community. Eighty Lawndale residents had met them at the jail when they were released. Yes, there were doubts. But no regrets.

I though back to the last Negro man,a stranger, who spoke to me as I left 12th Street, in Detroit, earlier that same afternoon. "I'll tell you what it is, Father. It's everything that's been building up. Housing, schools, jobs, frustration--everything. It had to happen. And I'll tell you something. It's going to happen again next year."

But, I decided, even if it does happen again, there will be a yes answer to the woman who asked whether we could survive this as a nation. I had seen Msgr. Egan, Joe Williams, John Markham, Dan O'Sullivan, Jack Macnamara and 12 young men; and I was sure their spirit would prevail.

(Raymond A. Schroth, S.J., is in the Department of American Civilization at George Washington University, in Washington, D.C.)

C. RIOTS AND BOSTON, 1770

Fred M. Henley

It was later termed a massacre, but probably more people in that city were killed each month by household accidents than during the riot itself. Three days before the riot there had been an angry quarrel between the police and a group of workmen over some obscure disturbance. But in spite of the tense atmosphere, the Governor did not confine the police to quarters; he did not believe the people would actually riot over their presence. The troublemakers, he knew, were only a small part of the total population.

On the evening the riot broke out, a crowd had collected in front of the Brattle St. barracks. They shouted insults, waved sticks and tossed missiles, while the men on duty dealt a few blows with the butt ends of their weapons. About 8 P.M., in an attempt to stop the uproar, the captain ordered the men into the station for the night.

But the alarm had gone through the neighborhood, the taverns were emptied, and by 9:15 P.M. a large mob had gathered in the area about the station. A lone soldier on duty down the street knocked to the ground a young boy who was shouting obscenities. Fifty or sixty men, unarmed (as later investigation showed), surged toward him, pelted him with stones and began shouting: "Kill him, kill him!" Capt. Preston, with seven men, rushed from the station to his aid. The crowd threw dirt at their faces, waved sticks, shouted insults and dared them to fire. Then, without orders, most of the men did open fire; four of the mob fell dead; seven were wounded, and of these two later died. The mob dispersed. The date was March 5, 1770.

The Governor, who by now had arrived on the scene, immediately ordered the arrest of Capt. Preston and his men for trial. In the morning, the Governor's Council recommended removal of half the troops from the area, since they seemed to be a source of irritation to the populace. By afternoon, however, an immense crowd had gathered under the leadership of a known Local Power agitator, Samuel Adams. He was informed by the Governor that half of the soldiers would be removed and the rest kept for purposes of public safety. But Adams told the crowd: "All the soldiers or none." The crowd took up the chant as Adams went to confer personally with the Governor. He later reported that, as he presented his demands to the Governor: "I observed his knees to tremble. I saw his face grow pale--and I enjoyed the night." Bowing to these demands of the populace, the Governor ordered all troops removed from the area.

Thus occurred one of the more important events in a long American tradition of citizen rebellion against authority to correct abuses and maintain freedom. The Boston Massacre happened because the citizens of Boston felt that the troops were there to protect foreign property even at the expense of local rights; because Gov. Hutchinson and those under him did not think it would happen; and because the troops patrolling the area were not trained to handle mobs. Sam Adams had sensed the true temper of the populace and was able to exert influence to gain power. So all of the troops were marched to Castle Island, and the citizens of Boston gained a larger measure of real control over their lives. Many governors in the United States today can probably sympathize with the plight of Gov. Hutchinson as he reckoned with the crowd at Faneuil Hall in Boston of 1770. And, painful as it may be to the patriotic sensibilities of many, the mantle of Sam Adams falls more easily upon the shoulders of Stokely Carmichael and his like than anywhere else.

The forces that led to the Boston riot, and eventually to successful revolt against England, were long in building. It would have taken a political genius--and such a one was clearly lacking at the time--to have kept the thirteen colonies happy and in union with the mother country. The mere removal of a tax on tea, or the marching of two regiments of His Majesty's soldiers off to Castle Island in Boston Bay, would not do. The same may be said today of our present racial difficulties. It is not simply a matter of tearing down a slum building or providing more recreational facilities. The dispute has been growing too long for such surface measures to make a difference.

Over a century ago, in 1838, James Fenimore Cooper made this harsh observation: "American slavery is distinguished from that of most other parts of the world by the circumstance that the slave . . . is marked by physical peculiarities so different from his master as to render future amalgamation improbable . . . . The time must come when American slavery shall cease, and when that day shall arrive (unless early and effectual means are devised to obviate it), two races will exist in the same region, whose feelings will be embittered by inextinguishable hatred, and who carry on their faces the respective stamps of their factions. The struggle that will follow will necessarily be a war of extermination. The evil day may be delayed, but can scarcely be averted."

The "early and effectual means" of which Cooper spoke were not devised, so the "much future ill" is now upon the nation. The country is faced with sporadic racial warfare on the part of that section of the population that has not been accepted into the life of the nation as a whole. But it is not necessary that the problem be settled by a "war of extermination." That method, which was largely successful with the Indian problem, can scarcely be tolerated now. The country would actually revolt, whites as well as blacks, if the government attempted an ultimate solution to the Negro problem similar to that of the "Indian solution" after the Civil War.

The Negro in Watts, Newark, Plainfield and other cities looks upon the white-run police force and National Guard as alien forces sent into his neighborhood to protect foreign property and "keep the peace" at the expense of his personal freedom. The abortive house-to-house search for stolen automatic weapons two weeks ago in Plainfield may or may not have been conducted politely and legally. Basically, in the eyes of the Negro, it was a search carried out by a foreign army in their very homes. Hence it was odious.

The story that National Guardsmen and police in the riot zone fired into undamaged stores marked "Negro Owned" and "Soul Brother" may be groundless. But it is a fact that the Negro believes the story to be true. Many Negroes in Neward firmly believed, despite reasonable evidence to the contrary, that the cabbie seized by the police had been killed. Stories like these gain credence because the Negro expects the police to protect white property and ignore his own freedom. When he sees armored vehicles and National Guard troops swarming over his neighborhood, he can easily identify with the Hungarian Freedom Fighters from another popular uprising. He looks upon the police force as an instrument of the White Power that controls his life. Hence the rise of Black Power.

Where will this mutual distrust, this "understanding gap" and, at times, this violent antipathy end? The political genius who can answer that question with certainty does not seem to be at hand. But he would have to base his prediction on these present facts: The Negro has not become part of white America; he does not trust the white man; the white man does not trust him. Moreover, the Negro is physically isolated--but his ghettos cover large sections of many American cities. His rioting cannot be kept down by permanent, massive military occupation, like that of the Russians in Budapest.

Yet he cannot break free and form his own independent political system as the American colonists did. He can, though, by violence and other means, gain some freedom to exercise responsible Black Power control over his own life and neighborhood. This process seems to have begun; however it may end, the political and social structure of the American city is being changed permanently. We can hope and work that, in the change, the principles of freedom, responsibility and justice will be preserved. These principles are the mainspring of every popular uprising.

In trying to unravel the snarled motives that cause the upheaval of each successive long, hot summer, we would do well to remember that, in the minds of the people rioting in the streets, the white man occupies the position of Gov. Hutchinson and his redcoats. The Negro has taken over Faneuil Hall.

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II. BLACK POWER

A. Generalizations

The following generalizations might be developed by students in a study of the current Black Power movement.

1. Control and power have been the monopoly of those who have neither the interests nor the demonstrated concern of minorities in mind.

2. Before a group can enter an open society, it must first close ranks, or

3. Group solidarity is necessary before a group can operate effectively from a bargaining position of strength in a pluralistic society.

4. Advanced technology and a rising Gross National Product are not the only, or even the most important, indices of civilization.

5. Traditionally, each new ethnic group in this society has found the route to social and political equality through the organization of its own institutions with which to represent its needs within the larger society.

6. There can be no social order without social justice.

7. Intregration assumes that the numerically inferior party must give up its identity and deny its heritage.

8. Cultural integrity includes a pride or a sense of self-acceptance in one's historical attainments and contributions.

9. The victims of continued societal oppression are willing to risk the future because they have so very little to lose and a lot to gain.

10. Friction evolves when the demands of a new group rub against the resistence of an old group---the old group, settled and secure, preferring peaceful, slow and moderate change and calling for "stability and order," "cooling off," and "responsible action."

11. New institutions may be necessary to solve old problems.

Statements from Black Power: The Politics of Liberation by Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton (new York, 1967) which could be useful as teaching objectives:

1. In the context of present day America, the interests of black people are not identical with the interests of certain liberal, labor, and other reform groups.

2. A coalition cannot be made between the politically and economically secure and the politically and economically insecure.

3. A political coalition cannot be sustained on a moral, friendly, or sentimental basis; certainly not by appeal to conscience.

4. Black people will become increasingly active as they notice that their inferior status exists in a large measure because of values and institutions arraigned against them.

5. Only blacks can create in the black community an aroused and continuing black consciousness that will provide the basis for political strength.

6. The goal of Black Power is not to take black children out of the black community and expose them to white middle class values; the goal is to build and strengthen the black community.

7. When black people lack a majority, Black Power means proper representation and the sharing of control.

8. The ultimate values and goals of Black Power are not domination or exploitation of other groups, but rather an effective share in the total power of the society.

9. The goal of black self-determination, black self-identity---Black Power---is full participation in the decision-making processes affecting the lives of black people and recognition of the virtue in themselves as black people.

10. Black Power has strong implications in the area of politics, economics, and education.

11. Black Power involves ghetto enrichment.

12. Black Power seeks self-respect, self-consciousness, and the freedom to determine one's own future independent of the wishes or the will of the white society.

13. The ultimate consequence of black power could result in a permanently divided country, two separate and unequal (equal) societies.

14. Black Power rejects the concept of integration.

15. When viewed in the perspective of American history, Black Power can be defended as a viable approach to a group desiring to obtain some control.

B. IF BLACK POWER COULD SPEAK.

Black Power is a response to the facts of black life. If Black Power could speak for itself, it would say something like this:

"All right, white man, you won't accept me, you won't pat me on the back and call me 'good nigger.' I'm not going to ask you to do that any more, because it seems to bother you and it has always bothered me. So let's stop fooling each other. Our relations have been bad for both of us, because they have tied my life to yours more than either of us wants. But they have been especially bad for me, because your mistakes have been made my failures, and my mistakes have been mine to keep, too. Sure, I sound mad, because I'm a century late in waking up to these facts. I'm mad at you for letting me lick your boots, and I'm mad at myself for doing it. So I'm not going to do it anymore. I'm going to be my own man without worrying about whether you approve or not. I'm not going to be a 'good nigger' if it's not in my interest, and I'm not interested in any rewards when it is in my interest. Maybe I'll be poorer without the rewards and the handouts, but then the churches say there's nothing immoral about being poor, don't they? You may not want to make me free in white America, but I'll be free in black America.

(John R. Sullivan--reporter covering U.S. Supreme Court and social and racial issues for the NC News Service in Washington, D.C.)

(America, "An End to Self-Deception," March 16, 1968, p.343)

C. BLACK POWER

Stokely Carmichael

.....It seems to me that the institutions that function in this country are clearly racist, and that they're built upon racism. And the question then is, how can black people inside this country move? And then how can white people, who say they're not a part of those institutions, begin to move, and how then do we begin to clear away the obstacles that we have in this society that keep us from living like human beings. How can be begin to build institutions that will allow people to relate with each other as human beings? This country has never done that. Especially around the concept of white or black.

Now several people have been upset because we've said that integration was irrelevant when initiated by blacks and that in fact it was a subterfuge, an insidious subterfuge for the maintenance of white supremacy. We maintain that in the past six years or so this country has been feeding us a thalidomide drug of integration, and that some Negroes have been walking down a dream street talking about sitting next to white people, and that that does not begin to solve the problem. When we went to Mississippi, we did not go to sit next to Ross Barnett; we did not go to six next to Jim Clark; we went to get them out of our way, and people ought to understand that. We were never fighting for the right to integrate, we were fighting against white supremacy.....

Now we are engaged in a psychological struggle in this country and that struggle is whether or not black people have the right to use the words they want to use without white people giving their sanction to it. We maintain, whether they like it or not, we gon' use the word "black power" and let them address themselves to that. We are not gonna wait for white people to sanction black power. We're tired of waiting. Every time black people move in this country, they're forced to defend their position before they move. It's time that the people who're supposed to be defending their position do that. That's white people. They ought to start defending themselves, as to why they have oppressed and exploited us.

It is clear that when this country started to move in terms of slavery, the reason for a man being picked as a slave was one reason: because of the color of his skin. If one was black, one was automatically inferior, inhuman, and therefore fit for slavery. So that the question of whether or not we are individually suppressed is nonsensical and is a downright lie. We are oppressed as a group because we are black, not because we are lazy, not because we're apathetic, not because we are stupid, not because we smell, not because we eat watermelon and have good rhythm. We are oppressed because we are black, and in order to get out of that oppression, one must feel the group power that one has. Not the individual power which this country then sets the criteria under which a man may come into it. That is what is called in this country as integration. You do what I tell you to do, and then we'll let you sit at the table with us. And then we are saying that we have to be opposed to that. We must now set a criteria, and that if there's going to be any integration it's going to be a two-way thing. If you believe in integration, you can come live in Watts. You can send your children to the ghetto then we're going to start adopting us some white people to live in our neighborhood. So it is clear that the question is not one of integration or segregation. Integration is a man's ability to want to move in there by himself. If someone wants to live in a white neighborhood and he is black, that is his choice. It should be his right. It is not because white people will allow him. So vice-versa, if a black man wants to live in the slums, that should be his choice. Black people will let him, that is the difference.

It is this difference which points up the logical mistakes this country makes when it begins to criticize the program articulated by SNCC. We maintain that we cannot afford to be concerned about 6 percent of the children in this country. I mean the black children who you allow to come into white schools. We have 94 percent who still live in shacks. We are going to be concerned about those 94 percent. You ought to be concerned about them, too. The question is, are we willing to be concerned about those 94 percent. Are we willing to be concerned about the black people who will never get to Berkeley, who will never get to Harvard and cannot get an education, so you'll never get a chance to rub shoulders with them and say, "Well he's almost as good as we are; he's not like the others." The question is, how can white society begin to move to see black people as human beings? I am black, therefore I am. Not that I am black and I must go to college to prove myself. I am black, therefore I am. And don't surprise me with anything and say to me that you must go to college before you gain access to X, Y, and Z. It is only a rationalization for one's oppression.

The political parties in this country do not meet the needs of the people on a day-to-day basis. The question is, how can we build new political institutions that will become the political expressions of people on a day-to-day basis. The question is, how can you build political institutions that will begin to meet the needs of Oakland, California; and the needs of Oakland, California is not 1,000 policemen with submachine guns. They don't need that. They need that least of all. The question is, how can we build institutions where those people can begin to function on a day-to-day basis, where they can get decent jobs, where they can get decent housing, and where they can begin to participate in the policy and major decisions that affect their lives. That's what they need. Not Gestapo troops. Because this is not 1942. And if you play like Nazis, we're playing back with you this time around. Get hip to that.

The question then is, how can white people move to start making the major institutions that they have in this country function the way they are supposed to function? That is the real question. And can white people move inside their own community and start tearing down racism where, in fact, it does exist? It is you who live in Cicero and stop us from living there. It is white people who stop us from moving into Grenada. It is white people who make sure that we live in the ghettos of this country. It is white institutions that do that. They must change. In order for America to really live on a basic principle of human relationships, a new society must be born. Racism must die, and the economic exploitation of this country, of non-white people around the world, must also die.

There are several programs that we have in the South among some poor white communities. We're trying to organize poor whites on a base where they can begin to move around the question of economic exploitation and political disenfranchisement. We know we've heard the theory several times, but few people are willing to go into this. The question is, can the white activist not try to be a Pepsi generation who comes alive in the black community, but that he be a man who's willing to move into the white community and start organizing where the organization is needed? .....

We've been saying that we cannot have white people working in the black community and we've based it on psychological grounds. The fact is that all black people often question whether or not they are equal to whites because everytime they start to do something white people are around showing them how to do it. If we are going to eliminate that for the generations that come after us, then black people must be seen in positions of power doing and articulating for themselves.....

Now then, the question is, how can we move to begin to change what's going on in this country? I maintain, as we have in SNCC, that the war in Vietnam is an illegal and immoral war. And the question is, what can we do to stop that war. What can we do to stop the people who, in the name of our country, are killing babies, women and children. What can we do to stop that? And I maintain that we do not have the power in our hands to change that institution, to begin to recreate it so that they learn to leave the Vietnamese people alone, and that the only power we have is the power to say "Hell, no !" to the draft.... There isn't one organization that has begun to meet our stand on the war in Vietnam. Because we not only say we are against the war in Vietnam; we are against the draft. We are against the draft. No man has the right to take a man for two years and train him to be a killer..

It is impossible for white and black people to talk about building a relationship based on humanity when the country is the way it is, when the institutions are clearly against us. We have taken all the myths of this country and we've found them to be nothing but downright lies. This country told us that if we worked hard we would succeed, and if that were true we would own this country lock, stock and barrel. It is we who have picked the cotton for nothing; it is we who are the maids in the kitchens of liberal white people; it is we who are the janitors, the porters, the elevator men; it is we who sweep up your college floors; yes, it is we who are the hardest working and the lowest paid. And that it is nonsensical for people to start talking about human relationships until they're willing to build new institutions. Black people are economically insecure. White liberals are economically secure. Can you begin an economic coalition? Are the liberals willing people who they so much love? Then if you're not, are you willing to start building new institutions that will provide economic security for black people? That's the question we want to deal with.....

We have to raise questions about whether or not we need new types of political institutions in this country and we in SNCC maintain that we need them now. We need new political institutions in this country. And any time Lyndon Baines Johnson can head a party which has in it Bobby Kennedy, Wayne Morse, Eastland, Wallace and all those other supposedly liberal cats, there's something wrong with that party. They're moving politically, not morally. And if that party refuses to seat black people from Mississippi and goes ahead and seats racists like Eastland and his clique, then it is clear to me that they're moving politically and that one cannot begin to talk morality to people like that. We must begin to think politically and see if we can have the power to impose and keep the moral values that we hold high. We must question the values of this society. And I maintain that black people are the best people to do that because we have been excluded from that society and the question is, we ought to think whether or not we want to become a part of that society. That's what we want. And that is precisely what, it seems to me, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is doing.

We are raising questions about this country. I do not want to be a part of the American pride. The American pride means raping South Africa, beating Vietnam, beating South America, raping the Philippines, raping every country you've been in. I don't want any of your blood money. I don't want it..... don't want to be part of that system. And the question is how do we raise those questions.....How do we raise them as activists?

We have grown up and we are the generation that has found this country to be a world power, that has found this country to be the wealthiest country in the world. We must question how she got her wealth. That's what we're questioning. And whether or not we want this country to continue being the wealthiest country in the world at the price of raping everybody across the world. That's what we must begin to question. And because black people are saying we do not now want to become a part of you, we are called reverse racists. Ain't that a gas?

How do we raise the questions of poverty? The assumption of this country is that if someone is poor, they're poor because of their own individual blight, or they weren't born on the right side of town. They had too many children; they went in the Army too early; their father was a drunk; they didn't care about school; they made a mistake. That's a lot of nonsense. Poverty is well calculated in this country. It is well calculated. And the reason why the poverty program won't work is because the calculators of poverty are administering it. That's why it won't work.

So how can we, as the youth in the country, move to start tearing those things down? We must move into the white community. We are in the black community. We have developed a movement in the black community that challenges the white activist who has failed miserably to develop the movement inside of his community. The question is, can we find white people who are going to have the courage to go into white communities and start organizing them? Can we find them? Are they here? And are they willing to do that? Those are the questions that we must raise for white activists.

We are never going to get caught up with questions about power. This country knows what power is and knows it very well. And knows what black power is because it's deprived black people of it for 400 years. So it knows what black power is. But the question is, why do white people in this country associate black power with violence? Because of their own inability to deal with blackness. If we had said Negro power, nobody would get scared. Everybody would support it. And if we said power for colored people, everybody would be for that. But it is the word 'black,' that bothers people in this country, and that's their problem, not mine.....

So that in conclusion, we want to say that first, it is clear to me that we have to wage a psychological battle on the right for black people to define their own terms, define themselves as they see fit and organize themselves as they see fit. Now, the question is, how is the white community going to begin to allow for that organizing, because once they start to do that, they will also allow for the organizing that they want to do inside their communities. It doesn't make any difference. Because we're going to organize our way anyway. We're going to do it. The question is, how we're going to facilitate those matters. Whether it's going to be done with a thousand policemen with sub-machine guns or whether or not it's going to be done in the context where it's allowed to be done by white people warding off those policemen. That is the question.

And the question is, how will white people who call themselves activists get ready to start moving into the white communities on two counts. On building new political institutions, to destroy the old ones that we have, and to move around the concept of white youth refusing to do into the army. So that we can start then to build a new world.

It is ironic to talk about civilization in this country. This country is uncivilized. It needs to be civilized. We must begin to raise those questions of civilization. What it is, and we'll do it. And so we must urge you to fight now to be the leaders of today, not tomorrow. We've got to be the leaders of today. This country is a nation of thieves. It stands on the brink of becoming a nation of murderers. We must stop it. We must stop it.

And then, in a larger sense, there is the question of black people. We are on the move for our liberation. We have been tired of trying to prove things to white people. We are tired of trying to explain to white people that we're not going to hurt them. We are concerned with getting the things we want, the things that we have to have to be able to function. The question is, can white people allow for that in this country? The question is, will white people overcome their racism and allow for that to happen in this country? If that does not happen, brothers and sisters, we have no choice, but to say very clearly, move on over, or we're going to move on over you.

D. THE SEEDS OF CIVIL WAR

Book Review on Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America, by Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton.

By Shane Stevens

It is shameful that white America has refused to accept the conditions for peace as contained in the gospel according to Martin Luther King. No, it is more than shameful; it is social criminality. A criminality on a national scale that has unleased waves of violence. And this, seemingly, is only the beginning. Out of the chaos of the black man's despair has come the awful specter of another civil war in this country--a modern-day civil war of every-increasing guerrila activity, fought in all the cities across the land, not only in the black ghettoes of the inner city, but in the very heart of the white residential and business districts. It appears that white America is about to be shocked out of its white castle.

And why all this? Because, as incredible as it may sound, a recent national Gallup Poll disclosed that 75 per cent of white America believes that black people "are treated the same as white." Three out of four white Americans believe that the black man in this country is being accorded the same treatment in housing, in education, in employment as any white man. This most recent Gallup Poll was taken July 22. On July 22 the city of Newark was burning with the fires of one of the bloodiest rebellions of this century. That is, thus far.

And so the cry "Black Power" sweeps the land. And the white community is troubled because it doesn't want to believe that the gap is widening between the have's and the have-not's, most of whom are black. It doesn't want to believe that the black man is solid fed up, that he is beginning to see it's too late for peace with the white man on any terms short of full equality and social justice. Since this has not come about with the white man's help, it will have to be got without his help. Thus, the rise of Black Power. And with the death of integration as a workable idea comes the beginning of the end of white supremacy. That's what scares the white man. Without taking the time to discover what Black Power's all about, he instinctively feels it a threat to his self-imposed (and self-inflicted) supremacy. And he is right.

The phrase Black Power has become the operative slogan of Stokely Carmichael, the 1966-67 chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC, or Snick). Over the past several years Carmichael has made a serious and largely successful attempt to come to grips with what is happening here in America,not withstanding his occasional lapses into what I'm going to call the (H.Rap) Brown syndrome of kill-for-hate talk. Now, Carmichael-and Roosevelt University Professor Charles V. Hamilton-have set down the philosophy and concept of Black Power as it has painfully emerged out of the urban and rural black ghettoes these last thirteen years. Their accomplishment is extraordinary: Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America is surely the most important document to have come forth from the whole black-white arena of public affairs, perhaps the most significant single piece of writing in this area since the 1954 Supreme Court decision declaring public school segregation unconstitutional.

The book speaks revolution. Revolution in thought and in action. Simply stated, the authors' thesis, is that in these United States power (which happens to be white) has been pitted all these years against powerlessness (which happens to be black). This white power is complete in the political, economic, and social sectors of our life. And if the black people in America are ever going to have full equality and social justice, they will have first to acquire an equal amount of political and economic power. Black Power to counteract White Power. It's as simple (or as complicated) as that. "Our basic premise is..the inclusion of black people at all levels of decision-making. We do not seek to be mere recipients from the decision-making process but participants in it." How is this to be brought about? "We are calling at this time for new political forms which will be the link between broadened participation (now occurring) and legitimate government."

Is this revolutionary? Absolutely. In Carmichael's view, power is the key. "Black Power...is a call for black people in this country to unite, to recognize their heritage, to build a sense of community. It is a call to to reject the racist institutions and values of this society." Substantial change will come only when "black people organize independently to exert power." Power that will give control of the schools, of public office, of the means of employment in the black community to the black community.

Now obviously, the white community is not goingto let this happen; it is not going to stand by and see the whole racist culture of this country torn down. Therefore, Carmichael believes it useless to try to reform from within (e.g., within the Democratic Party). The change, then, will have to come from without. And that pure and simple, is revolutionary. "Black Power means that black people see themselves as part of a new force, sometimes called "The Third World"; that they see their struggle as closely related to liberation struggles around the world." And, lest white America not misunderstand, black people "intend to determine for themselves the kinds of political, social and economic systems they will live under. Of necessity this means that the existing systems...will have to be challenged and changed."

And if it cannot be done short of violence? Well, Carmichael is well aware that social justice cannot come without first experiencing social disorder-and that power concedes nothing without demand.

One thing remains to be said. If America is not to go under a worldwide hundred-year guerrilla war of liberation, then the white community has got to come back into the real world from whatever psychedelic trip it's been on all these years and decades. Hopefully this staggering book will shed a light brilliant enough to illuminate the way home for all of us.

But somehow--I seem to have no hope left.

E. IS BLACK POWER A FORM OF RACISM? Carmichael and Hamilton say:

.....Some observers have labeled those who advocate Black Power as racists; they have said that the call the call for self-identification and self-determination is "racism in reverse" or "black supremacy." This is a deliberate and absurd lie. There is no analogy--by any stretch of definition or imagination--between the advocates of Black Power and white racists. Racism is not merely exclusion on the basis of race but exclusion for the purpose of subjugating or maintaining subjugation. The goal of the racists is to keep black people on the bottom as they have done in this country for over 300 years. The goal of black self-determination and black self-identity---Black Power---is full participation in the decision-making processes affecting the lives of black people and recognition of the virtues in themselves as black people. The black people of this country have not lynched whites, bombed their churches, murdered their children and manipulated laws and institutions to maintain oppression. White racists have. Congressional laws, one after the other, have not been necessary to stop black people from oppressing others and denying others the full enjoyment of their rights. White racists have made such laws necessary.

F. NEGRO LEADERS SHIFT STRATEGY

Move Toward a Black Society

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'U.S. News & World Report'

"Black power"..."black nationalism"...and now something else is added--a "black society."

The slogans that are heard today among Negro leaders reveal a significant switch in strategy.

Whatever happened to integration? It is still a goal--but a distant one, slow in coming.

And Negroes, tired of waiting, are banding together to build strength in racial unity.

***

An important shift in Negro strategy and attitudes is now emerging out of all the controversy that has rocked Negro organizations in recent months.

The shift is away from the old emphasis on civil rights and integration.

It is toward a new form of segregation--a kind of voluntary separatism in which Negroes themselves band together to form what is coming to be called a "black society."

This black society takes many forms.

A few Negroes talk of setting up a separate "black nation" inside the U.S.A.-or abroad. Some use "black power" as a threat of violence, even guerrilla warfare, against the "white establishment."

To more and more Negroes, however, "black power" takes on a far different meaning.

Take-over of cities? In cities where Negroes constitute a majority of the population, "black power" means political power to take over control of the city governments.

In other cities, it means control by Negroes of their own neighborhoods or of the schools in their neighborhoods. And to a growing number of black people, "black power" means economic power, a "black capitalism" with Negro ownership and control of business firms.

Almost everywhere you find Negroes turning increasingly toward association with their own race. In some colleges, Negro students have demanded separate--rather than integrated -- dormitories. In some neighborhoods, the demand is for black schools for black children.

What happened to integration?

The answer seems to be that large numbers of Negroes have decided that real integration is not possible of early achievement--and are beginning to doubt that it is really the answer to their immediate problems.

One explanation comes from Norman B. Houston, senior vice president of a Negro-owned insurance company and former head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Los Angeles. He said:

"Young black intellectuals and militants are just being realistic. They know that integration is not an immediate possibility. They are concerned with practical problems of today and tomorrow, so they are trying to develop cultural roots and become as independent as possible.

"Negroes are trying to build their own society, just as the Japanese and Jews did."

"Separate can be good." Mr. Houston continued:

"This separate black society can be a good thing. It will give Negroes the desire to learn. Negroes will want to gain knowledge of government and business problems. And once knowledge is gained, they will see that separatism is impractical.

"Immediate integration is impractical, but a separate black society is unrealistic, too."

This idea was found to be repeated many times in many cities in a survey by members of the National staff of "U.S. News & World Report."

Even among those approving the idea of a black society, one Negro after another emphasized that it is merely a temporary tactic, a way of working toward ultimate integration.

"Consciousness of peoplehood." The Rev. Calvin S. Morris, associate director of Operation Breadbasket, an economic program of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference--SCLS--in Chicago, put it this way:

"I think what is being called for now is a consciousness of peoplehood. It is one of the ways by which immigrants have entered the mainstream of American society.

"Some see it as a form of racial apartheid. But I see it more as a route to full participation in American society--a way station."

Mr. Morris warned:

"If we become more apart, it will be only because of the white community and its lack of action."

Andrew Barrett, who is working with Chicago street gangs in a program sponsored by the Young Men's Christian Association, said:

"Ultimately, I think a coalition of whites and blacks is essential. But at this point, I think that black people have to get themselves together, economically and politically.

"We have learned a great deal. We have realized that the way to reach our goals is not through physical confrontation, but through psychological, which is harder to deal with."

In New York, a further explanation of the trend came from Thomas B. Jones, a Negro economist. He said:

"The economic problems of the Negro have not been solved by government programs or a change in attitude on the part of the power structure. The Negro, therefore, decided that self-development is a pratical, realizable approach to the solution of his problems.

"To a degree, this induces separateness, and, although voluntary, it would seem to be a natural development encouraged by his disappointment in past events."

Negroes are discovering, too, that civil-rights laws do not necessarily mean that Negroes can actually enjoy all the rights written into those laws--that the Negro must also be able to afford to eat in an integrated hotel or live in an integrated neighborhood.

"To be economically free." Richard V. Clarke, a Negro who owns an employment agency in New York, put that idea into these words:

"Perhaps integration is not the answer to Negro problems. The answer is to be economically free and therefore able to choose where to live and work and all the other things that one wants to do for which money is the key."

Robert J. Tindal, executive secretary of the Detroit chapter of the NAACP, emphasized economic and political power as the real "black power." He said:

"Economic and political power is what this country is all about.

"Until the black community understands this and gains and uses economic and political power, it will get nowhere. The Irish and Italians made it in this country through political power. The Negro can, too."

"Meaning" of freedom. Young Negroes are reported swinging strongly to these ideas. Quintas L. Greene, a Negro student at Lawrence Institute of Technology in Detroit, won the top award in a writing competition of the Detroit Press Club Foundation this year with an essay saying, in part:

"Afro-Americans are finally beginning to realize that freedom is not a commodity that which people have the prerogative to 'give' to black people.

"They are beginning to understand that freedom does not mean a desegregated lunch counter, a desegregated school, or a desegregated neighborhood.

"They have finally begun to see that freedom never has and never will be won by marching, praying and singing 'We Shall Overcome.' Black people are beginning to understand that a man is truly free only when he controls his own destiny in his own community, free from outside interference. Black people do not want to dominate or rule white people, but only to rule themselves."

Look around the country and you find that in one city after another black people are beginning to build one basis of a black society--economic power.

In the Detroit area, three programs dominated by Negroes have been started to encourage black ownership and operation of businesses. Projects include a cooperative supermarket, a community bank, rehabilitation of inner-city property with use of Negro labor, and development of skilled Negro managers.

In the San Francisco area, white businessmen are getting behind the Negro economic drive with help on management problems of black-owned companies and training of Negro executives.

The Ford Foundation is financing a California project to enable contractors of minority races to take on major construction jobs.

Black-owned businesses are springing up in many West Coast cities.

Cleveland has a Negro Industrial and Economic Union that provides loans and help to Negroes starting in business.

A similar role is played in Baltimore by the Baltimore Community Investment Company, formed by a group of businessmen -- with 16 Negro and six white directors on the board.

"The Harlem Co-op," recently opened in New York City's big Negro area, was financed largely through small investments by Negroes.

Reins of control. Along with the economic drive go campaigns for another kind of black power--political. Washington, D. C., Gary, Ind., Cleveland and several smaller cities now have Negro mayors. Negroes are being elected to Congress, state legislatures and city councils in growing numbers.

Yet the turn toward a black society is more than economic and political. It is social and psychological as well.

Blackness is now being emphasized. Fewer Negroes straighten their hair. African history and culture are being studies. In the words of Richard Clarke, the employment-agency owner:

"The psychology among many Negroes of self-hate rapidly is being replaced by a sense of racial pride. This is an extremely healthy development.

Nearly all Negro leaders endorse this idea. But Whitney M. Young, Jr., head of the National Urban League, expresses the view of most moderate Negro leaders that the turn toward a black society is only "transitional." He said recently:

"The ultimate goal is still a free society, where people have free choice." [1]

G. BIG SPLIT AMONG NEGROES

Reprinted from 'U.S. News & World Report'

Controversy is splitting some of the nation's biggest Negro Movements.

In the Congress of Racial Equality, an issue is "black nationalism."

In the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, an issue is moderation vs. militancy.

At CORE's national convention in early July, a group demanded a separate "black homeland" for Negroes.

The idea: Set aside for Negro occupancy a 12-State area stretching from Maryland to Florida and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi.

That idea was not endorsed by the convention. But neither was anything else.

The convention recessed in dispute, leaving resolutions and a proposed new constitution to be acted upon in a later meeting.

Unity: elusive. Although the convention did bring together a wide range of black leadership, it appeared to fall short of achieving the "black unity" that CORE leaders had hoped to forge.

The most militant of the black nationalists walked out, threatening to form their own organization.

But the atmosphere of the convention indicated that CORE is turning toward "black nationalism" and away from the biracial objectives it avowed a few years ago.

Roy Innis took over recently as the interim national director of CORE while Floyd McKissickwas on sick leave. Both advocate "black nationalism" in terms yet to be defined.

Roy Wilkins, regarded as among the most moderate of Negro leaders, kept his grip on the NAACP at its national convention in late June. And NAACP reaffirmed its historic policies of biracial co-operation.

Yet a group described as "young Turk" militants stirred one of the stormiest disputes in NAACP history and then walked out, threatening to form new links with other, more militant organizations.

NAACP made one significant concession to the militants. It endorsed a mild concept of "black power," which it defined as Negro control of the schools and economy in Negro areas. It was the first time NAACP had formally used the term "black power."

The National Urban League, which traditionally has concentrated its efforts on economic gains for Negroes, also has swung behind a form of "black power."

[1] U.S. News & World Report - 7-22-68. Copyright 1968 'U.S. News & World Report,' Inc. Further reproduction prohibted.

Addressing the CORE convention, Urban League Director Whitney M. Young, Jr., on July 6 said:

"Let me make it clear that the Urban League believes strongly in that interpretation of black power which emphasizes self-determination, pride and self-respect and participation and control of one's destiny and community affairs."

Mr. Young's speech reflected the turn away from emphasis on integration that marked the recent trend among Negro organizations. He said the Urban League opposes "enforced segregation." But he added:

"After years of hoping, now we must face the reality that we are more segregated than ever before. We do not seek integration. We are seeking an open society."

The stand of NAACP. NAACP's Roy Wilkins, addressing the same CORE convention on July 5, rejected emphatically the idea of a separate black nation. He said:

"It is no secret that under the (Roy) Innis regime, the Congress of Racial Equality is committed to a philosophy of what has been called loosly 'black nationalism.'

"If the concept which emerges is that of the building of a separate black nation, the mood, the beliefs and the tradition of the NAACP would dictate no co-operation with that theme."

Mr. Wilkins also warned against a false racial pride, saying:

"In teaching race pride, it will be disastrous if we teach a false distinction and a false superiority.

"We do not correct white racism by erecting black racism." [1]

H. MODERATES NOW ADOPT BLACK POWER CONCEPT

By Charles Bartlett

Publishers-Hall Syndicate Washington

RESPONSIBLE Negro leaders like Whitney Young of the Urban League appear to be moving to the left with their endorsements of Black Power, but they are in fact rescuing a valuable concept from irresponsible hands.

No longer able to shape the restoration of the ghettos from their past posture as moderates, these leaders are taking a significant step toward making their rhetoric more relevant to the mood and the problems.

They have resolved to adopt the rallying cry of the radicals as the device for which they have long searched, a means to exhort the Negro to help himself.

Black Power under its new sponsorship will be torn away from its tarnishing association with the pseudo - leaders, the anti-while militants who talk of "honkies," "getting the gun," and a separate black state. It will be construed to mean "black pride" instead of "black coercion."

THE TRANSITION will not be easy because the radicals will not cheerfully surrender their favorite handle and many whites who support civil rights are leery of the connotations of Black Power. Liberals will resent the de-emphasis of the goal of integration and extremists will decry the abandonment of black nationalism. But the logic of the concept lies in its responsiveness to two stubborn facts: The ghettos will not disappear swiftly, perhaps not for two decades; and the process of integration will not enable the Negro to shed the crippling sense of inferiority which is his greatest handicap.

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[1] U.S. News & World Report - 7-22-68. Copyright 1968 'U.S. News & World Report,' Inc. Further reproduction prohibited.

As Roger Wilkins of the Community Relations Service wrote last December, "The black theoreticians have concluded that supplication is denigrating and inefficient, that co-operation with white liberals is ineffective, that white people cannot or will not make the system work for poor black people, and consequently that black people must save themselves if there is to be any salvation."

Stripped of hostile overtones, the concept of Black Power is simply, in Wilkins' words, that black Americans must create for themselves an environment which is conducive to their psychological health and institutional strength.

They must narrow the gap between their own sense of inferiority and the white man's sense of superiority before they can hope to live as equals.

THE ATTRACTION to Black Power as a coercive force is transformed by this reasoning into a movement to discover how power can be constructively exerted against the urban crisis, how people can grow strong even though they are born and raised in ghettos.

John Gardner of the Urban Coalition has discovered already that the pressure of the problems inspires in the ghetto leaders a high degree of practicality.

They soon become realists and many will ultimately become pragmatic political masters who brush away the rhetoric to grope with the circumstances.

For example, the financial failure of the super-market in Watts that was designed to be totally independent of white influences has already taught its lesson.

A similar co-operative effort in New York is prospering because its managers accept the buidance of experienced white entrepeneurs.

The Black Power concept will be modified by experience and the influence of men like Gardner to acknowledge the fact that no business or political undertaking will flourish in isolation.

The society derives its muscle, commercially and politically, from its inter-connections and these will serve the ghetto better than dogmatism.

The significance of the new sponsors of Black Power is that they are not dogmatists or dreamers. They are men who are ready to face the problem where it exists and their potential for good is tremendous. [1]

I. ADAPTED FROM REPORT OF THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS--------BLACK POWER

The slogan "Black Power" developed during the James Meredith march from Memphis to Jackson, Mississippi in June 1966, but it expressed ideas that had been present for a long time and had been gaining strength in the black community.

Black power was at first a mood rather than a program-----a bewilderment with and a growing away from white America. It emphasized independence, race pride, and self-respect or "black consciousness."

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[1] Minneapolis Tribune - 7-10-68 p.4

In politics, Black Power meant independent action-----black control of the political power of the black ghettos and its use to better the conditions of slum dwellers. It could take the form of organizing a black political party or controlling the political machinery within the ghetto without the guidance or support of white politicians. Only a well organized block of black voters could provide for the needs of the black masses.

In economic terms, Black Power meant creating independent, self-sufficient black businesses not only by encouraging blacks to invest in the ghetto but also by forming black cooperatives.

In the area of education, Black Power called for local community control of the public schools in the black ghettos.

Black Power emphasized self-help and racial unity. Among the most militant, Black Power is often interpreted to mean violence, from the legal right of self-defense to attempts to justify looting and arson in ghetto areas along with guerilla warfare and armed rebellion.

SNCC and CORE

Generally regarded as the most militant among the important Negro protest organizations, they have different interpretations of the Black Power doctrine. SNCC calls for totally independent political action outside the established political parties, as with the Black Panther Party in Lowndes County, Alabama; questions the value of political alliances with other groups until blacks have themselves built a substantial base of independent political power; applauds the idea of guerilla warfare; and regards riots as rebellions.

CORE has been more flexible. Approving the SNCC strategy, it also advocates working within the Democratic Party, forming alliances with other groups and, while seeking to justify riots as the natural explosion of an oppressed people, advocates violence only in self-defense. Both groups favor cooperatives, but CORE has seemed more inclined toward job-training programs and developing a black business class based upon the market within the black ghetto.

The Enrichment Choice

The idea of enriching the ghetto probably would have three immediate effects on civil disorders:

1. Announcement of a specific large-scale program and the demonstration of a strong intent to carry them out might persuade ghetto residents that real cures for their problems were forthcoming, thus reducing tensions.

2. Such announcements would strongly stimulate the hopes of the members of these communities----possibly well beyond the capabilities to deliver and to do so promptly. This might increase frustration and discontent, to some extent cancelling the first effect.

3. If there could be immediate action on job training and the creation of productive jobs for large numbers of unemployed young people, they would become much less likely to engage in civil disorders.

Such action is difficult now, when there are about 583,000 young black men ages 16-24 in the central cities of whom 22.5% are unemployed and probably two or three times as many are underemployed. It will not become easier in the future. By 1975, this age group will have grown to nearly 700,000.

Given the size of the present problem, plus the large growth of this age group, creation of enough meaningful jobs will be very difficult even if begun rapidly. Even if the nation is willing to start such a program, there is no certainty that it can be made effective soon enough.

Consequently, there is no certainty that enriching the ghetto would do more in the near future to diminish violent incidents in central cities than any other program. However, if enrichment programs can succeed in meeting the needs of residents of disadvantaged areas for jobs, education, housing, and city services, than over the years this choice is almost certain to reduce both the level and frequency of urban disorder.

Black Self-Development

Enriching the ghetto is in line with some of the currents of black protest that fall under the label of Black Power. We do not refer to versions of Black Power which promote violence, generate racial hatred, or advocate total separation of the races. Rather, we mean the view which asserts that the American black population can assume its proper role in society and overcome its feelings of powerlessness and lack of self-respect only by exerting power over decisions which directly affect its own members. A fully integrated society is not thought possible until the black miniority within the ghetto has developed political strength---a strong bargaining position in dealing with the rest of society.

In short, this argument would regard predominately black central cities and predominantly white outlying areas not as harmful, but as as advantageous future.

People of this view also focus on the need for the black man to organize economically and politically, thus tapping new energies for self-development. One of the hardest tasks in improving disadvantaged areas is to discover how deeply deprived residents can develop their own capabilities by participating more fully in decisions and activities which affect them. Such learning-by-doing efforts are an important part of the process of bringing deprived people into the mainstream of American life.

Separate but Equal Societies?

The Enrichment Choice by no means seeks to continue racial segregation. In the end, however, its basic principle is that disadvantaged blacks can achieve equality of opportunity with whites while continuing in conditions of nearly complete separation.

This basic principle has been defended by people who support Black Power. While most blacks initially desired racial integration, many are losing hope of ever achieving it because of white resistence. Yet many cannot bring themselves to accept the conclusion that most of the millions of blacks who are forced to live racially segregated lives must therefore be condemned to inferior lives---to inferior educations, or inferior housing, or inferior status.

Rather, they reason, there must be some way to make the quality of life in the ghetto areas just as good. And if equality cannot be achieved through integration then it is not surprising that some backers of Black

Power denounce integration and claim that given the hypocrisy and racism that lies in the very midst of white society, a black society is, in fact, morally superior. This argument is understandable, but there is a great deal of evidence that is false.

The economy of the U.S. and particularly the sources of employment are mostly white. In this circumstance, a separate but equal employment policy could only relegate blacks permanently to inferior incomes and economic status.

The best evidence regarding education is contained in recent reports of the Office of Education and Civil Rights Commission which suggest that both racial and economic integration are essential to educational equality for blacks. Yet critics point out that, certainly until integration is achieved, various types of enrichment programs must be tested, and that dramatically different results may be possible from intensive educational enrichment---such as far smaller classes, or greatly expanded pre-school programs, or changes in the home environment of black children resulting from steady jobs for fathers.

Still others advocate shifting control over ghetto schools from professional administrators to local residents. This, they say, would improve curricula, give students a greater sense of their own value, and thus raise their morale and educational achievement. These approaches have not as yet been tested efficiently. One conclusion, however, does seem reasonable: any real improvement in the quality of education in low-income, all-black areas will cost a great deal more money than is now being spent there---and perhaps more than is being spent per pupil anywhere. Racial and social class integration of schools may produce equal improvement in achievement at less total cost.

Whether or not enrichment in ghetto areas will really work is not yet known, but the Enrichment Choice is based on the yet-unproved idea that it will. Certainly, enrichment programs could significantly improve existing ghetto schools. But "separate-but-equal" ghetto education cannot meet the long-run fundamental educational needs of the central-city black population.

The three basic educational choices are: providing black children with quality education in integrated schools; providing them with quality education by enriching ghetto schools; or continuing to provide many black children with inferior education in racially segregated school systems, severely limiting their life-time opportunities.

It is the third choice that the nation is nowmaking, and this choice the Commission rejects totally.

In the field of housing, it is obvious that "separate but equal" does not really mean equal. The Enrichment Choice could greatly improve the quantity, variety, and environment of decent housing available to the ghetto population. It could not provide blacks with the same freedom and range of choice as whites with equal incomes. Smaller cities and suburban areas together with the central city provide a far greater variety of housing and environmental settings than the central city alone. Programs to provide housing outside central cities, however, extend beyond the bounds of the Enrichment Choice.

In the end, whatever its benefits, the Enrichment Choice might well invite a prospect similar to what we have now: separate white and black societies.

If enrichment programs were effective, they could greatly narrow the gap in income, education, housing, jobs, and other qualities of life between the ghetto and the mainstream. Hence the chances of disorder in the next

20 years would be greatly reduced.

Whether they would be reduced far enough depends on the scope of the programs. Even if the gap were narrowed from the present, it still could remain as a strong source of tension. History teaches that men are not necessary made happier even by great absolute progress. The controlling factor is relative progress---whether they still see a significant gap between themselves and others whom they regard as no more deserving. Widespread perception of such a gap and the consequent resentment might well be precisely the situation 20 years from now under the Enrichment Choice for it is essentially another way of choosing a permanently divided country.

J. THE "WRIGHT" CONCEPT OF BLACK POWER

. Negroes must never take the stance of humbly grateful beggars when seeking what at the very best can only be a part payment on interest of the debt which a white America owes for riding for three centuries without ever the thought of payment on the backs of black people of this land. Black Power, in terms of sweat and blood and pain of an awesome and callously inflicted daily degradation and the denial of basic rights, has built and sustained this land, which, in terms of unrepaid investment, is the black man's more than anyone else's.

. White people and institutions, it must be said over and again, individually have not done the black man wrong. The villain is the white culture and society as a whole, of which they are an inextricable part. Thoughtful white people thus will readily be open to accept black-engineered organization for black influence and for the creation of new power relationships which will reflect to the benefit of all....The churches and housewives of America may be on many grounds the most readily influential--if afforded answers by those concerned with the creative use of Black Power--in spawning a power reallocation. The white men of America who have power are associated for the most part with one or the other or with both such groups.

. The central, overriding economic fact or principle regarding our Negro urban poor is that, as we have already stated, if they are not trained adequately for life and livelihood and then given opportunity for their due fulfillment, they will become liabilities for which our white society must pay a high and ever-increasing relief and policing cost. A reasonable ultimate alternative to provision of full training and full opportunity is genocide. Some feel that -- as genocide was possible with a white Christian Germany when extremist feelings held the day--it will be possible in America when white myopia and while lethargy and unwillingness to make the most of American potential meet the deadly monster of a massof millions of resentful, angry, and untutored Negro poor caught in a vicious cycle of illegitimacy and vice causing almost total demoralization and outrage.

. The black people of America are this nation's most rich and ready asset -- its greatest raw material--as once the unmined earth and its untouched forests, fields and rivers were. In former years this nation built its greatness upon the utilization, not unmixed with wastefulness, of the vast physical resources which had lain untapped. Today, the new frontier of this nation's destiny lies in the development and utilization to the full of its infinitely greater human resources. What greater and potentially more useful reservoir of undeveloped and unutilized human resource does this nation have than in the black people of this land?

. Black Power means black development into self-sufficiency for the good of Negroes and for the good of the whole nation. We want--as others must want--to replace the helping hand which now aids us with our own hand--to sustain ourselves and not be burdens on all others.

. The emphasis of those concerned with increasing the dignity and worth of black people (i.e., Black Power) is upon alerting every agency in American life to the need for rededication to our national fulfillment by providing opportunity and equity in every enterprise in American life to all in ways that serve our national purpose. Black Power asserts the determined purpose of black people to add their hitherto unused and potentially enriching gifts to the nation's common store.

. It is only as white men see in Black Power a mirror of the abuse of white power that they are frightened. But look any self-respecting black man in the face, man to man, and discover that in his own stubborn sense of dignity there is nothing for America to fear. Indeed, Black Power is a preferred gift to bless the lives of one and all.

. The glorification of blackness implicit in the term Black Power is a conscious or unconscious effort to stake a claim for the worth of those in our nation who are termed nonwhite. Essentially it is a clarification. The root meaning of the term "glorify" is to clarify, to make clear and plain and straight.

. From one point of view the riots may be seen as a logical result of the historic stunting or distorting of the Negro's self-image. He has been allowed openly to think of himself only as an adolescent, half-grown man. He has been locked in the role of one who would grow into manhood and self-sufficiency but has been firmly held in check. We know what difficulties inevitably arise when growth out of adolescence is ever thwarted. In terms of the results of a simple and long-continued thwarting of growth into maturity and manhood, the irrationality of the recent riots could be more than sufficiently explained. Another related view is that the Negro has long been taught to hate himself. The riots reflect a self-image of hatred. They represent a self-inflicted punishment on the Negro community itself. They have involved thus far at least in their death and destruction only the Negro community. Still another, and similarly related, estimate of the riots suggests that the Negro's irrationality will tend for a time to increase as the Negro makes his long-postponed exit from half-maturity into manhood. Thus we are counseled to deal with the Negro's growth into adulthood and self-directed maturity in much the same manner as we would deal with any growth out of adolescence.

. Black Americans must answer the challenge raised by the issue of Black Power by being changed most drastically themselves. They must not ask what others have to give, but in forthright ways offer what latent rich gifts they have to bring the nation's life and their own lives to flower. In the strictest sense, the nation has never beckoned the impotent to rise. It has received those who have stood forth clearly with the offer of their power for the good of others. This must be the new posture of black Americans who would be free.

---From "Black Power and Urban Unrest: Creative Possibilities."

K. "CONCLUSION" from Charles E. Fager, White Reflections on Black Power, pp. 106-108.

Throughout these meditations, the most evocative image of Black Power for me has been that of the emerging MANHOOD of a race. Several observers besides those we have already heard from have alluded to such an image.

Richard Bone, reviewing The Autobiography of Malcom X, for the New York Times had this to say:

> "Freedom Now!" is addressed to whites; it is a short-hand version of "Give us our freedom now!" But "Black Power!" is addressed to Negroes; it is a call to mobilize their full social might for the achievement of certain goals. The essence of the shift is psychological. It has nothing to do with black supremacy, but much to do with manhood and self-reliance."

Bone, "A Black Man's Quarrel With the Christian God," The New York Times Book Review, September 11, 1966, p.14.

The Rev. George Kalbfleisch, in a letter to the Times, drew a somewhat similar comparison:

> "It was a personally humanizing act for the Jew under the Nazis actually to lay claim to his being a Jew. It is a personally humanizing act for the Black Man under the whites actually to lay claim to his being black."

Letter to the Editor, The New York Times, August 19, 1966.

C.E. Vanderwarker, Jr., also wrote the Times about the meaning of the emerging concept:

> "The Negro has surfaced from under the confining and directing hand of a white society and will now conduct his struggle as he sees fit. This is not separatism, nor a prelude to widespread violence, nor a 'taking of the law into their own hands'; this is simply a 'taking of themselves into their own hands'---an assertion that the Negro is finally able to act as a man, not as the mythical creation bordering on invisibility which he was previously."

Letter to the Editor, The New York Times, July 23, 1966.

III. ECONOMIC ASPECTS

A. "I SAT DOWN ON A BOX...."

"I sat down on a box behind a group of young teen-agers who were staring dully at daytime television on a set from the middle Fifties. I squirmed when the commercials came on. The cigarette sells and the instant relief from body orders-----it's all too much and we laugh at it and accept it as part of the game. It's routine to comment on how much more you enjoy the commercials than the so-called entertainment sandwiched in between, and to have your easy chuckle at the expense of Marlboro and Rear Guard and Mr. Clean. But I said squirmed.

My first afternoon in Watts I knew I had never looked at TV that way before. It was eerie to watch these man-children watching the promised land held up to them through the magic of the television tube; look but don't touch. They were dropouts and they were jobless and some of them slept in doorways and in the backs of cars, prey to the police and all the vices that seem to offer momentary escape. And what was the commercial offering them?-----an opportunity to get in on the ground floor of a new real-estate developer's dream, each individual split-level home facing the golf course, and of course each with its own swimming pool, "no longer the choice of a millionaire but within reach of even the budget-minded homemaker."

They broke themselves up. They were laughing, but it wasn't good-natured, easy laughter. It was their own, stylish way of reacting to a challenge, a brutal challenge of a society that was selling swimming pools and golf courses and at the same time warning them to keep off the grass."

I remember feeling, after watching them watch that absurd American Dream of a commercial, that the burning of a supermarket (offering sub-standard meats and vegetables at higher prices than in Beverly Hills) was, if not forgivable, at least understandable."

B. BLACK POCKETBOOK POWER

Black Power sentiment is fed, among other things, by the urban Negro's pent-up resentment of the white businessmen who make their living from the slum's daily needs. These white-run enterprises, blacks complain, not only fatten on the ghetto's misery by overcharging for shoddy goods but also siphon off their profits from Negro neighborhoods and seldom employ black workers.

But black animosity can breed an antidote to its own racial poison. In Chicago, where the white community dismissed Martin Luther King's 1966 civil rights crusade with a hatful of rapid promises, black pocketbook power has become an effective, constructive force. In less than two years, the Rev. Jesse Jackson, 26, a burly, apothegmatizing King lieutenant who praises the Lord and believes in the might of economics, has wrested work from ghetto businessmen for 3,000 of his flock and boosted South Side Negroes' annual income by $22 million.

Hearing Footsteps. Running his Operation Breadbasket from a dingy cubicle on the second floor of King's dilapidated South Side headquarters, Jackson fixed his strategy in April 1966 in his first campaign against a dairy with 104 outlets in Negro neighborhoods. Jackson's request to examine the company's employment rolls was refused. Next Sunday, pastors from 100

Negro pulpits urged a boycott of the dairy's products; by Thursday, the company had capitulated, offering ghetto dwellers 44 new or upgraded jobs---20% of its total employment.

A 54-store grocery chain even proved tougher. Platoons of housewife picketers mobilized by Jesse Jackson's cadre of clergy marched for ten days until the chain hired 183 Negroes in jobs ranging from department managers to delivery boys; today it employs 309 Negroes. After testing Operation Breadbasket's strength, A. & P. stores in Chicago found 970 jobs for Jackson, and Jewel Tea has hired 662 Negroes. Dozens of other white employers did not wait for a boycott, "You can't calculate the number of jobs made available because they hear those footsteps coming," says Jackson.

Boost for Mumbo. Operation Breadbasket grew from successful Negro boycotts in Philadelphia in the early 1960s and spread to Atlanta, where King's men have claimed 5,000 new jobs for Negroes in the past six years. Currently, Jackson has plans to deploy his pickets in several Southern cities. "Our tactics," he insists, "are not ones of terror. Our biggest concern is to develop a relationship so that the company has arespect for the consumer and the consumer will have respect for the company. As buying power among Negroes increases, they will be able to spend more money. So it benefits both sides."

Next, Operation Breadbasket turned to promote sales of goods produced by Negro enterprises, threatening boycotts to force stores to stock such products as Mumbo barbecue sauce and Diamond Sparkle wax. "Mumbo grew 600% in only four months," exults Jackson, who is now negotiating with Chicago stores to market the produce of an Alabama farm cooperative run by dispossessed Negro sharecroppers.

Casting around for opportunities to promote Negro-owned businesses, Jackson and his aides have organized service companies and matched them with customers. Trash from 40 A. & P. stores is now collected by a Jackson-organized sanitation firm ("What's more grass-rootsy than garbage?"), and the chain has also taken on Negro janitors and exterminators. "Up until then," Jackson snorts, "we didn't even control our own rats and roaches." Five new South Side groceries are being built by two Negro contracting firms, each of which already grosses more than $1,000,000 yearly.

Jackson is convinced that a new political order will eventually emerge on the South Side as Negro economic power and pride increase. "Politicians," he remarks, "are devoted to their oats even more than to their votes." And to make doubly sure, Operation Breadbasket pressure has persuaded ghetto firms to ease the slum's perennial capital shortage by opening accounts in two Negro banks, thus boosting deposits from $5,000,000 to $22 million. "Where big money stays," the pastor preaches, "big decisions are made."

---*Time*, March 1, 1968

C. NEW MEANING FOR "BLACK POWER"

Reprinted from 'U.S. News & World Report'

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Dr. Thomas W. Matthew, A New York City neurosurgeon, is president of the National Economic Growth and Reconstruction Organization (NEGRO), which he describes as a "national self-help program" and a "constructive form of black power." In this interview he says its purpose is "to build a people in pride, dignity and self-respect through economic independence."

***

Q Dr. Matthew, what is the purpose of this organization, called NEGRO, that you head?

A The basic concept is that our people--the black people in America--have no social cohesiveness other than their blackness, and in order for them to compete in the free-enterprise system in America, it is necessary that the Negro people develop some cohesive social structure that has economic implications.

So we have two objectives: One is to build the social cohesiveness, and the other is to build the economic structure. The end result, we hope, will be the formation of an economy within an economy--or a nation within a nation.

Q Would you describe this as a "black society"?

A Yes. "Black society" is a term which I like very much.

Q How does your program differ from that of the so-called black-nationalist movements?

A The difference between our movement and some other movements is that our apparent separatism is not a goal in itself. It is only a vehicle--a step toward ultimate integration of the races.

Integration is desirable because all integration means is that all human beings are willing to have a relationship with other human beings, and there is something basically healthy about that.

But you cannot have real integration when you have a patronizing relationship, with one person who is exceedingly strong, who has everything, always in the position of offering something to the other person. There you have no reciprocation, no quid pro quo. And, after all, the real basis of friendship is that I have something to offer you, and you have something to offer me--that we need one another. There must be interdependence. We cannot have real integration until we have integration of equals.

Other groups are talking about something else when they talk about withdrawing from the American society, about going back to Africa, or developing a separate black state. They are talking about a complete separatism.

Some of those groups are religious, such as the Mlack Muslims. Some are political. We are not talking about politics or religion. We are talking about total living--a planned society for black people, so they ultimately will be better able to participate in the general society.

Q How do you think Negroes can best prepare for that goal?

A Through self-help--through organizing and utilizing the resources of the black man for his own help.

This is actually a form of "black power"--a constructive form. Some have gone off on another tangent of turning "black power" into a threat. But that's not "black power" at all. That's black destructiveness.

Q How does your program operate?

A NEGRO is a national self-help program, designed to build a people in pride, dignity and self-respect through the development of economic independence.

Solely owned by a nonprofit foundation, NEGRO is an amalgam of business corporations which build from the bottom up, providing jobs and rehabilitation to the hard-core unemployed.

NEGRO's industries include a 160-bed general hospital; more than 600 housing units; construction firms; women's and children's clothing, chemical, paint and metal-fabricating plants; a laundry, bakery, and the total bus system in the Watts area of Los Angeles. We are now opening a farmers' market and mobile stores in the destroyed ghettos of Washington, D.C.

Our program has two parts--we run two systems simultaneously:

One is a profit-making system of industry which employs good workers, productive workers. Those industries make the profit for us, and we use the true free-enterprise system.

We also operate a nonprofit system of industry which offers training centers for human rehabilitation. We run what are called "industrial clinics." The people working there are defective in the sense that they could not do a day's work worth a day's pay. These are the people who are considered hard-core unemployed. We employ them knowing that they are defective. Then we bring in our social workers, our schoolteachers, our doctors and all the forces that we have to rehabilitate them--to develop skills, and to rehabilitate their attitudes toward work.

As a result of slavery and generations of welfare dependency, too many Negroes do not have the proper attitude toward work. They will not get to work on time in the mornings or have a sense of responsibility, and so on. This requires attitude-building as well as skill-building.

Q How is all this financed?

A Through the sale of bonds. Our bonds sell in denominations ranging from 25 cents to $10,000. They are 10-year debenture bonds and pay 6½ per cent interest annually.

We, as an organization, have never received any philanthropic funds, grants or gifts.

We now have over 3 million dollars' worth of assets and 15 industries. We employ more than 700 people across the country. We have restored to the tax rolls more than half a million dollars a year in taxes that ordinarily would not have been there. And we have a sour projection that, before fiscal year 1969 is ended, we will have amassed some 10 million dollars in assets. By that time we will have some 50,000 people put in employment as a result of our program.

Q Do you think it would be a good idea for the Government to use your approach rather than some of the methods now being tried?

A Oh, yes. As a matter of fact, we have proposed to Congress a plan under which the Government would lend annually up to 100 million dollars at 2 per cent interest and would guarantee private loans of 4 per cent to promote black business enterprises.

Q Is your program limited strictly to Negroes?

A No. Our program does not exclude white individuals from participating in it. I would say that there are about 3,000 or 4,000 white individuals who have purchased bonds. We periodically seek consultations with white individuals, so that we have constant contact with the white community. And about 20 per cent of our employers are white.

This is not a total withdrawal. But it is an attempt to involve the Negro in the solution of his own problems, and to get the black people to use their own resources to help each other. This is what has been done by many ethnic groups--Jewish, Italian, Irish and others.

The marshaling of all the resources of any particular group is the power of that group. In this instance, since black people are involved, we call it "black power."

Too often, as a Negro businessman becomes successful, he moves out of the Negro community and he takes his money out of the community, just as a white businessman would do. He doesn't reinvest it in the black community.

We are saying that for the efforts of successful Negroes to be meaningful they should be part of an organized program. And, to be effective, it should be a national program. The reason it will not work if it is locally segmented is that it would then not utilize all the Negro resources across the country. Some black communities are too small to be able to help themselves. The larger communities have to help the smaller communities that cannot run self-help programs of their own.

Q What about welfare programs to aid Negroes?

A No society can base its future on dependency. It must base its future on being independent.

Now, we recognize that within any society there are some who must have help. But you don't start planning your society on charity. You let economic independence be the basis from which economic power will flow to take care of those in need. If the Negro people develop a strong economic program, the profits from their productivity will help take care of some of their less fortunate ones. Then we won't have so great a need of things like welfare or a guaranteed income. Even a guaranteed income is based on dependency.

Pride, dignity and a sense of accomplishment are the things we strive for. Our goal is that other people will have genuine reason for respecting us, and we in turn will have the right to respect ourselves.

I think that nobody will have respect for another man unless the man truly has earned it. And the black man in America no longer wants charity. He does not want to be patronized. He wants to be accepted for accomplishments and, in order for us to show those accomplishments, we must be given an opportunity to accomplish.

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IV. POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES

A. Prospects for More Negro Mayors

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Reprinted from 'U.S. News & World Report'

Trends in the population show why Gary, Ind., and Cleveland may be only the beginning of a Negro rise to political power in American cities.

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Now that Negroes have madea big political breakthrough by electing Negro mayors in Gary, Ind., and Cleveland, Ohio, this question is being asked:

Will more cities soon elect Negro mayors? The answer suggested by city population trends is: Very likely.

A look at the accompanying chart shows why. The trend, in city after city, is toward larger numbers of Negro residents in relation to white residents.

If these trends continue, by 1975 at least 10 out of the 30 largest cities in the U.S. will have populations in which 40 per cent or more are Negroes.

One of these cities, Washington, D.C., already is about 66 per cent Negro. Another, Newark, N.J., is expected to become 60 per cent Negro by

1975.

When Negroes outnumber whites, they are in a good position to take political control.

This was demonstrated in Gary, where Negroes-making up an estimated 55 per cent of the population--elected a Negro mayor on November 7.

Recent elections indicate, however, that Negroes do not need an actual majority to elect a mayor.

In Cleveland, only about 34 per cent of the population is Negro. Yet Carl B. Stokes, a Negro, won the November 7 election. He drew an estimated 20 per cent of the white vote, along with almost all the Negro vote.

There are also Negro mayors in three Michigan cities--Flint, Saginaw and Ypsilanti--and in Springfield, Ohio.

None of these cities has anywhere near a majority of Negro residents.

The Negro mayors in Michigan were not elected to the top city office by a direct vote of the people. They were elected as city-council members, then were chosen by the council to serve a chief executives. In Springfield, a Negro became mayor as a result of getting the largest vote of any candidate for the city commission.

A number of cities choose their mayors by indirect methods that make it possible for a Negro to become mayor without a city-wide majority.

Washington, the only major U.S. city with a majority of Negro residents in 1965, now has a Negroas its chief executive. This was a direct appointment by President Johnson since, as the nation's capital, Washington comes under federal administration. But it would be no problem for Washington Negroes, with their overwhelming numbers, to elect a Negro mayor if given the opportunity in a public election.

Negro leaders, heartened by recent elections--and watching the population trends--are predicting more election victories in the near future.

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., said recently that Newark may be the next city to elect a Negro mayor.

Representative John Conyers, Jr., (Dem.), of Michigan, a Negro, predicts Negro mayors "by the early 1970s" in Detroit, Newark, Richmond, Baltimore, and St. Louis.

Dr. King suggests that it is possible that Chicago will have a Negro mayor within 10 years. Chicago was 28 per cent Negro in 1965, and is expected to become about 37 per cent Negro by 1975.

Negro leaders point not only to Cleveland but also to Massachusetts as demonstrating that Negroes do not need racial majorities to win elections.

Edward W. Brooke, a Negro Republican, was elected in 1966 as U.S. Senator in Massachusetts, where Negroes make up less than 3 per cent of the population. Mr. Brooke served previously as State attorney general.

Henry Lee Moon, public-realtions director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, says:

"The performance of Negroes in high office is tending to remove the apprehension of white voters, and to make them more willing to vote for the man instead of for his race."

Recent elections indicate, however, that Negro voters tend to vote heavily--almost as a bloc--for a candidate of their own race when the opponent is a white person. This means that in any city with a large Negro population--say 40 per cent or more of the total--a Negro candidate can win if he is able to pick up a part of the white vote.

Despite the rapid growth of Negro populations in many cities, these facts are pointed out by experts:

- The average Negro family contains more children than the average white family, so a smaller proportion of the Negroes are old enough to vote.

- A result may be that even in a city that is more than half Negro in population, whites will outnumber Negroes in registered voters.

In Washington, D.C., for example: In 1960, nonwhites made up 55 per cent of the city's population. Yet, among those of voting age--21 or over--only 48 per cent were nonwhite. Thus, the whites, although outnumbered, could have outvoted the Negroes.

Still, the ratio of Negro to white voters is changing rapidly in favor of the Negroes in most big cities--and the chances for a Negro to be elected mayor are improving.

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WHY OTHER CITIES MAY SOON ELECT NEGROES

- If recent population trends continue, Negroes will make up 40 per cent or more of the population in these 10 major cities by 1975--

	Negroes as per cent of total population		
	1950	1965	1975 estimate
Philadelphia	18%	31%	40%
Detroit	16%	34%	43%
Baltimore	24%	38%	44%
Cleveland	16%	34%	44%
Washington	35%	66%	75%
St. Louis	18%	36%	46%
New Orleans	32%	41%	49%
Memphis	37%	40%	46%
Atlanta	37%	44%	49%
Newark	17%	47%	60%

- In addition, a number of smaller cities have populations in which 40 per cent or more are Negroes, according to the 1960 census or later data. Among them are--

Augusta, Ga.
Charleston, S.C.
Compton, Calif.
East St. Louis, Ill.
Gary, Ind.
Jacksonville, Fla.
Macon, Ga.
Richmond, Va.
Monroe, La.

Source: USN&WR Economic Unit estimates, based on Census Bureau data.

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B. URBAN BLACK CONCENTRATION AND POTENTIAL BLACK POWER

MINNESOTA POLL 59% Say: Keep Negroes in Cities

(Copyright 1968 Minneapolis Star and Tribune Company)

Most Minnesotans (59 per cent) do not want Negroes encouraged to move from cities into small towns and rural areas, a statewide survey by The Minneapolis Tribune's Minnesota Poll finds.

"If white people in the cities cannot get along with Negroes, neither can white people living in the country," a 51-year-old Richfield man said. He added, "Besides, most small towns are already dying from lack of job opportunities."

But about one out of four state residents (26 per cent) said they think it would be a good idea to encourage Negroes to move to rural areas. "It would be a good thing to get Negroes out of the ghettos and slums," a Pipestone County man said.

Four per cent of the sampling of 594 adult men and women from all parts of the state offered special views on the proposal and the remaining 11 per cent did not reveal an opinion.

The survey findings are largely representative of white residents of the state because the sampling was a balanced cross-section of Minnesotans. Because the proportion of Negroes in the state is small, the proportion of Negroes interviewed was small.

There is little satisfaction in Minnesota with race relations in the nation, as indicated by responses to the following question:

"Would you say you are generally satisfied or not satisfied with the way things are working out between white and Negro people in the United States?"

The answers in the current survey are compared below with replies to the same question when asked by Minnesota Poll field reporters four years ago:

	Oct. 1964	Current survey
Satisfied with race relations....	14%	16%
Not satisfied....................	75	76
Other answers....................	2	1
No opinion.......................	9	7
	100%	100%

In the current survey, residents of Minneapolis, St. Paul and Duluth are slightly more satisfied (23 per cent) than are Minnesotans living in small towns and farms (13 per cent expressed satisfaction).

Another question asked:

"Some people are suggesting that Negroes be encouraged to move out of the large cities into small towns and rural areas. Do you think that is or is not a good idea?"

State residents living in the countryside are more strongly opposed than other Minnesotans are, as the table shows:

	Good idea	Not a good idea	Other and no opinion
All Minnesotans..........	26%	59%	15%
Minneapolis, St. Paul, Duluth................	31	56	13
Smaller cities...........	28	56	16
Rural areas..............	21	66	13

"I would favor it if the Negroes would only work. But if they have to be supported by the county I am against it," a 54-year-old Lincoln County farmer said.

"I think rural folk should be moved to the cities because around here they are awfully bigoted," a 23-year-old Crookston housewife commented.

Minnesotans who said they think it would be a good idea to encourage Negroes to move offered these ideas: (1) would get Negroes out of ghettos and slums; (2) less congestion would mean less trouble; (3) more job opportunities in rural areas; (4) would increase understanding by exposure of more white people to Negroes and vice-versa.

A 49-year-old Fairmont housewife who opposed the idea said, "Negroes should stay together in the ghettos. They are not educated enough to mingle with white people--I don't want them here."

"Where would Negroes go and what would they do?" a 49-year-old Chisago County housewife asked. "They can't play with white children."

Nineteen per cent of all the people interviewed said encouraging black people to settle in rural areas is a poor idea because of the scarcity of jobs in small towns.

That reason and others are summarized in the following table:

No jobs in small towns........................	19%
No one should be forced to move................	12
Races should not be mixed, leave Negroes in ghettos................................	11
Negroes would have same problems in rural areas....................................	10
Rural people are as prejudiced as everyone else....................................	7
Rural environment would cause Negroes a problem.................................	4
Other reasons.................................	10
	73%

The column totals more than 59 per cent who said a rural-directed migration is a poor idea because some of those persons gave more than one reason for their opinion.

C. POLITICS OF BLACK POWER

The following excerpts are from Black Power by Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton.

The authors speak of three specific instances which political Black Power did, should, or could have been implemented:

1. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party

> "The major moral of that experience was not merely that the national conscience was generally unreliable but that, very specifically, black people in Mississippi and throughout this country could not rely on their so-called allies. Many labor, liberal, and civil rights leaders deserted the MFDP because of closer ties to the national Democratic Party. To seat the MFDP over the "regulars" would have meant a displacement of power, and it became crystal clear that in order to combat power, one needed power. Black people would have to organize and obtain their own power base before they could begin to think of joining with others.
>
> It is absolutely imperative that black people strive to form an independent base of political power first. When they can control their own communities---however large or small---then other groups will come to them.
>
> This is the genesis of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization in Alabama, which began to be built within a year of the Atlantic City convention. Its name does not carry the word "Democratic" for the people of Lowndes did not intend to depend on the national Democratic party---or any other---for recognition. That party had clearly upheld racism when faced by a direct challenge. These black people knew that they would have to search for and build new forms outside the Democratic party---or any other; forms that would begin to bring about the changes needed in this country."

2. The Lowndes County Freedom Organization

> "The LCFO must set up precinct subdivisions and these must see to it that people are taken---literally---to the registration office. This must be followed up by periodic sessions of voter education in the sheer mechanics of the electoral process. The precinct captain must become as familiar to the residents of his precinct as the local ministers are. For so long, black communities in the Mississippi Delta and the black-belt areas have had to rely on inspirational and emotional appeals and on the tactics of protest politics. There were in large part, successful; but now they must put together a sustained organization. The LCFO is now a recognized political party in the county; it must organize and operate as one.
>
> The new Lowndes County Freedom Party is also aware that somehow it must counteract the economic dependence which so seriously impedes organizing. It must begin think-

ing of ways to build a "patronage" system---some sort of mechanism for offering day-to-day, bread-and-butter help to black people immediately in need. A prime example occurred on election day at 1 p.m., when a black family's home was completely destroyed by fire; fourteen children, ranging in age from four to eighteen, and two adults were left homeless and penniless. Immediate assistance in the form of clothes, food, and dollars coming from the Party would have been very valuable from a political point of view. It is true that the Party does not have the local resources to help every family burned out of their homes or kicked off the land or in need of a job but it must begin to move in that direction. Only so many black people will rush to the banner of "freedom" and "blackness" without seeing someway to make ends meet, to care for the children.

One way or another, the fact is that the black people of the South will participate in political decision-making in their time and in their land. November 8, 1966, made one thing clear: some day black people will control the government of Lowndes County. For Lowndes is not merely a section of land and a group of people, but an idea whose time has come."

3. Macon County---Tuskegee, Alabama

"Tuskegee, Alabama, could be the model of Black Power. It could be the place where black people have amassed political power and used that power effectively. The black people of Tuskegee could play a major role in building an independent county political organization which would address itself to the needs of black residents along lines we have already indicated. Such an independent force would give greater meaning to the election of Amerson by creating a genuine, organized base of power---not merely putting one black man, however valuable, into office.

It would be naive to expect that the operation of Black Power in Tuskegee could transform Alabama state politics. But it could establish in that one area a working government based on a new and different set of values---on humaneness---and serve as an example of what civilized government could be in this society.

Black people need not be apologetic or defensive about controlling their communities in this manner. We have seen that this is the one sure way to end racism in this country. The Tuskegee model could be applicable to black ghettos. Although no widespread possibility of governing whole counties exists in the North at this time, we are aware that, in the very near future, many of the northern urban cities will be predominantly black. Pockets of Black Power could develop and become illustrations of what legitimate government is---something we have not experienced to date in this society."

C. THE LOWNDES COUNTY FREEDOM PARTY

JOHN HULETT

.....Some Time Ago, we organized a political group of our own known as the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, whose emblem is the Black Panther.

We were criticized, we were called communists, we were called everything else, black nationalists and what not, because we did this. Any group which starts at a time like this to speak out for what is right--they are going to be ridiculed. The people of Lowndes County realized this. Today we are moving further.

Too long Negroes have been begging, especially in the South, for things they should be working for. So the people in Lowndes County decided to organize themselves--to go out and work for the things we wanted in life--not only for the people in Lowndes County, but for every county in the state of Alabama, in the Southern states, and even in California.

You cannot become free in California while there are slaves in Lowndes County. And no person can be free while other people are still slaves, nobody.

In Lowndes County, there is a committee in the Democratic Party. This committee not only controls the courthouse, it controls the entire county. When they found out that the Negroes were going to run candidates in the primary of the Democratic Party on May 3, they assembled themselves together and began to talk about what they were going to do. Knowing this is one of the poorest counties in the nation, what they decided to do was change the registration fees in the county.

Two years ago, if a person wanted to run for sheriff, tax collector or tax assessor, all he had to dowas pay $50 and then he qualified to be the candidate. This year, the entrance fee is about $900. If a person wants to run, he has to pay $500 to run for office. In the primary, when they get through cheating and stealing, then the candidate is eliminated. So we decided that we wouldn't get into such a primary because we were tired of being tricked by the Southern whites. After forming our own political group today, we feel real strong. We feel that we are doing the right thing in Lowndes County.

We have listened to everybody who wanted to talk, we listened to them speak, but one thing we had to learn for ourselves. As a group of people, we must think for ourselves and act on our own accord. And this we have done.

Through the years, Negroes in the South have been going for the bones while whites have been going for the meat. The Negroes of Lowndes County today are tired of the bones--we are going to have some of the meat too.

At the present time, we have our own candidates who have been nominated by the Lowndes County Freedom Organization. And we fear that this might not be enough to avoid the tricks that are going to be used in Lowndes County against us.

In Lowndes County, the sheriff is the custodian of the courthouse. This is a liberal sheriff, too, who is "integrated," who walked around and pats you on the shoulder, who does not carry a gun. But at the same time, in the county where there are only 800 white men, there are 550 of them who walk around with a gun on them. They are deputies. This is true; it might sound like a fairy tale to most people, but this is true.

After talking to the sheriff about having the use of the courthouse lawn for our mass nominating meeting, not the courthouse but just the lawn, he refused to give the Negroes permission. We reminded him that last year in August, that one of the biggest Klan rallies that has ever been held in the state of Alabama was held on this lawn of this courthouse. And he gave them permission. A few weeks ago an individual who was campaigning for governor--he got permission to use it. He used all types of loud speakers and anything that he wanted.

But he would not permit Negroes to have the use of the courthouse. For one thing he realized that we would build a party--and if he could keep us from forming our own political group then we would always stand at the feet of the Southern whites and of the Democratic Party. So we told him that we were going to have this meeting, we were going to have it here, on the courthouse lawn. And we wouldn't let anybody scare us off. We told him, we won't expect you to protect us, and if you don't, Negroes will protect themselves.

Then we asked him a second time to be sure he understood what we were saying. We repeated it to him the second time. And then we said to him, Sheriff, if you come out against the people, they are going to arrest you.

And he said, I will not give you permission to have this meeting here. I can't protect you from the community.

Then we reminded him that according to the law of the state of Alabama, that this mass meeting which was set up to nominate our candidates must be held in or around a voters' polling place. And if we decide to hold it a half a mile away from the courthouse, some individual would come up and protest our mass meeting. And our election would be thrown out.

So we wrote the Justice Department and told them what was going to happen in Lowndes County.

All of a sudden the Justice Department started coming in fast into the county. They said to me, John, what is going to happen next Tuesday at the courthouse?

I said, I thought the sheriff had told you you couldn't come there. And I said, Yes, but we are going to be there.

Then he wanted to know, if shooting takes place, what are we going to do. And I said, that we are going to stay out here and everybody die together.

And then he began to get worried, and I said, "Don't worry. You're going to have to be here to see it out and there's no place to hide, so whatever happens, you can be a part of it.

And then he began to really panic. And he said, There's nothing I can do.

And I said, I'm not asking you to do anything. All I want you to know is we are going to have a mass meeting. If the sheriff cannot protect us, then we are going to protect ourselves. And I said to him, through the years in the South, Negroes have never had any protection, and today we aren't looking to anybody to protect us. We are going to protect ourselves.

That was on Saturday. On Sunday, at about 2 o'clock, we were having a meeting, and we decided among ourselves that we were going to start collecting petitions for our candidates to be sure that they got on the ballot. The state laws require at least 25 signatures of qualified electors and so we decided to get at least 100 signatures for fear somebody might come up and find fault. And we decided to still have our mass meeting and nominate our candidates.

About 2:30, here comes the Justice Department again, and he was really worried. And he said he wasn't satisfied. He said to me, John, I've done all I can do, and I don't know what else I can do, and now it looks like you'll have to call this meeting off at the courthouse.

And I said, We're going to have it.

He stayed around for awhile and then got in his car and drove off, saying, I'll see you tomorrow, maybe. And we stayed at this meeting from 2:30 until about 11:30 that night. About 11:15, the Justice Department came walking up the aisle of the church and said to me, Listen. I've talked to the Attorney General of the state of Alabama, and he said that you can go ahead and have a mass meeting at the church and it will be legal.

Then we asked him, Do you have any papers that say that's true, that are signed by the Governor or the Attorney General? And he said no. And we said to him, Go back and get it legalized, and bring it back here to us and we will accept it.

And sure enough, on Monday at 3 o'clock, I went to the courthouse and there in the sheriff's office were the papers all legalized and fixed up, saying that we could go to the church to have our mass meeting.

To me, this showed strength. When people are together, they can do a lot of things, but when you are alone you cannot do anything.

There are 600 Negroes in the county who did not trust in themselves and who joined the Democratic Party. We warned the entire state of Alabama that running on the Democratic ticket could not do them any good, because this party is controlled by people like Wallace; and whoever won would have to do what these people said to do.

Now, to me, the Democratic Party primaries and the Democratic Party is something like an integrated gambler who carries a card around in his pocket and every now and then he has to let somebody win to keep the game going. To me, this is what the Democratic Party means to the people in Alabama. It's a gambling game. And somebody's got to win to keep the game going every now and then.

There is another guy who was running on the ticket calling himself a liberal, The Attorney General of the state of Alabama, Richmond Flowers. Most of you have heard about him. When he started campaigning to the people of Alabama, especially the Negro people, he assembled all their leaders and he made all kinds of promises to them--if you elect me for your governor, I'll do everything in the world for you.

And at the same time, he never made a decent campaign speech to the white people of this state. We kept warning our people in the state of Alabama that this was a trick and many Negroes listened to their so-called leaders, who profess to speak for the state of Alabama, and they got caught in the trap too.

I would like to say here, and this is one thing I am proud of, the people in Lowndes County stood together, and the 600 people who voted in the Democratic primary have realized one thing, that they were tricked by the Democratic Party. And now they too are ready to join us with the Lowndes County Freedom Organization whose emblem is the black panther.

We have seven people who are running for office this year in our county; namely, the coroner, three members of the board of education--and if we win those three, we will control the board of education--tax collector, tax assessor, and the individual who carries a gun at his side, the sheriff.

Let me say this--that a lot of persons tonight asked me, Do you really think if you win that you will be able to take it all over, and live?

I say to the people here tonight--yes, we're going to do it. If we have to do like the present sheriff, if we have to deputize every man in Lowndes County 21 and over, to protect people, we're going to do it.

There was something in Alabama a few months ago they called fear. Negroes were afraid to move on their own, they waited until the man, the people whose place they lived on, told them they could get registered. They told many people, don't you move until I tell you to move and when I give you an order, don't you do down and get registered.

Then all the people were being evicted at the same time and even today in Lowndes County, there are at least 75 families that have been evicted, some now are living in tents while some are living in one-room houses--with 8 or 9 in a family. Others have split their families up and are living together with their relatives or their friends. But they are determined to stay in Lowndes County, until justice rolls down like water.

Evicting the families wasn't all--there were other people who live on their own places who owe large debts, so they decided to foreclose on these debts to run Negroes off the place. People made threats--but we're going to stay there, we aren't going anywhere.

I would like to let the people here tonight know why we chose this black panther as our emblem. Many people have been asking this question for a long time. Our political group is open to whoever wants to come in, who would like to work with us. But we aren't begging anyone to come in. It's open, you come, at your own free will and accord.

But this black panther is a vicious animal, as you know. He never bothers anything, but when you start pushing him, he moved backwards, backwards, and backwards into his corner, and then he comes out to destroy everything that's before him.

Negroes in Lowndes County have been pushed back through the years. We have been deprived of our rights to speak, to move, and to do whatever we want to do at all times. And now we are going to start moving. On November 8 of this year, we plan to take over the courthouse in Haynesville. And whatever it takes to do it, we're going to do it.

We've decided to stop begging. We've decided to stop asking for integration. Once we control the courthouse, once we control the board of education, we can build our school system where our boys and girls can get an education in Lowndes County. There are 89 prominent families in this county who own 90 percent of the land. These people will be taxed. And we will collect these taxes. And if they don't pay them, we'll take their property and sell it to whoever wants to buy it. And we know there will be people who will buy land where at the present time they cannot buy it. This is what it's going to take.

We aren't asking any longer for protection--we won't need it--or for anyone to come from the outside to speak for us, because we're going to speak for ourselves now and from now on. And I think not only in Lowndes County, not only in the state of Alabama, not only in the South, but in the North--I hope they too will start thinking for themselves. And that they will move and join us in this fight for freedom.

V. BROTHERS

A. THE LIFE OF MALCOLM X *

Malcolm X was born May 19, 1925 in Omaha, Nebraska. His father, the Reverend Earl Little, was a Baptist minister and an organizer for Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association. His mother, Louise Little, was born in Grenada, British West Indies. Her father, whom she had never seen, was white.

Malcolm was his father's seventh child. His father had three children by a previous marriage, Ella, Earl, and Mary. His oldest full brother was Wilfred. Then Hilda and Philbert were born. After Malcolm's birth, his family moved to Milwaukee, where Reginald was born. After a short stay there, the family moved to Lansing, Michigan.

His father continued organizaing for the U.N.I.A., and was threatened by the Black Legionnaires, a Ku Klux Klan type organization. Shortly after Yvonne, his youngest sister, was born in 1929 his house was set on fire by two white men who were shot at by his father. The firemen and policemen came and stood by and watched his house burn to the ground. Afterward, the police used to come and search the house for the pistol with which his father had defended it.

The family moved to a house on the outskirts of East Lansing, home of Michigan State University. They were harassed so much that they had to move out of town, into the country. His father built the four-room house himself. Malcolm attended the Pleasant Grove school outside the city. Meanwhile, two more brothers, Wesley and Robert, were born.

In 1931 his father was killed. His skull was crushed. His body was found on the street car tracks almost cut in two. Malcolm believed that he had been attacked by whites and then laid on the tracks for a street car to run over. One of the two insurance companies refused to pay his mother, and this disturbed her and helped to lead to her mental breakdown. She developed the habit of talking to herself.

Wilfred quit school and took a job. His mother worked, but when the people learned she was a Negro, they would fire her. Malcolm and Philbert shot rabbits, trapped muskrats, and killed frogs to help out.

The State Welfare people came to the home looking and asking questions as if the family were not people. Once they called his mother "crazy" for refusing a gift of pork. Finally in 1937 they took her to the State Mental Hospital in Kalamazoo where she stayed until she left the hospital to live with Philbert in 1963. Malcolm and his brothers and sisters were placed under the custody of Judge McClellan in Lansing. Malcolm stayed with some neighbors, the Gohannas, and went to Lansing West Junior High School.

Expelled from school for putting a tack on his teacher's seat, he was to be sent to the reform school, but instead he was kept in the detention home run in Mason by Mr. and Mrs. Swerlin. They were a kindly couple and liked Malcolm, but they treated him like a mascot and not a person, talking about him and about "niggers" in his presence. He entered the seventh grade in Mason Junior High School, where he played on the basketball team and was elected class president. He was one of the three brightest students in the school, but when he told Mr. Ostrowski, his English teacher, that he wanted to be a lawyer, Mr. Ostrowski said, "That's no realistic goal for a nigger. Why don't you plan on carpentry?"

In his history book there was only one paragraph about the Negro. His history teacher skipped over that by cracking the joke that all Negroes had feet so big they left a hole in the ground when they walked. When he finished the eighth grade, Malcolm went to live with his sister Ella in Roxbury, a suburb of Boston.

There, he got a job as shoeshine boy in the Roseland State Ballroom, through Shorty, a home boy from Lansing, whom he met in a poolroom. He learned the 'hustles' of selling liquor, reefers, and slipping addresses and telephone numbers of black prostitutes to the white men. He learned to drink, gamble, and smoke reefers, and began playing the numbers for a dollar a day. He learned to Lindy-hop, and quit his job so that he could dance at the Roseland. At a Roseland dance he met the blonde Sophia who became his girl and gave him money and status in black Roxbury. At sixteen he got a job selling sandwiches on the railroad between Boston and New York and became acquainted with Harlem. Fired from the railroad, he got a job as a waiter at Small's Paradise in New York. The cooks, bartenders, and customers schooled him in the history of Harlem and in the various hustles. He listened to the yarns of hustlers like Sammy the Pimp, Dollarbill, Fewclothes, Jumpsteady, and Cadillac Drake. He lost his job at Small's when he gave a lonely-looking soldier, who was a Federal agent, the address of a prostitute. He then took up the racket of selling reefers. When it became too hot for him in New York, he caught the train and sold reefers to traveling musicians. When he returned to New York, he resorted to stickups and burglaries. His next job was as a messenger for a numbers man. Then he became a steerer for wealthy whites with unusual sexual appetites. Then he worked for Hymie, a real estate and business speculator. When he got into trouble with Italian gangsters, two other hustlers, and the police all at the same time, he left New York and went back to Boston with Shorty. There he began a series of burglaries with Shorty, Sophia and her younger sister, and a mulatto named Rudy. He was caught when he had a stolen watch repaired, and sentenced to ten years. He was not yet twenty-one.

He stayed first at Charlestown State Prison, where his behavior earned him many stays in solitary and the name of Satan. He took correspondence courses in English and Latin and tried to read library books. He was transferred to Concord Prison and in 1948 to Norfolk Prison Colony which had a good library. In his hustler's life he had hardly been able to read and write. Now he began copying the whole dictionary to learn to write and to understand the meaning of words. He read in every spare moment, sometimes as much as fifteen hours a day. After lights were out, he read by the glow of a corridor light until three or four in the morning. This so hurt his eyes that he had to wear glasses. He practiced debating and found it exciting. In his reading he concentrated on the history of the Negro and learned how the white man had exploited and brainwashed him.

His brother Reginald introduced him to the religion of Islam. Its condemnation of the white man gave Malcolm an explanation of the hardships of the Negro race. He became a convert, and wrote to Elijah Muhammad every day. His last year of prison was spent in Charlestown Prison. In August 1952 he was released on parole in custody of his brother Wilfred in Detroit who managed a furniture store. Malcolm worked as a salesman. Later he worked at Gar Wood and at the Lincoln-Mercury Division of the Ford Motor Company. On Labor Day he visited Chicago with a caravan from Detroit and met Elijah. Elijah later appointed him assistant minister of Detroit, and establisher of temples. He established new temples in Boston, Philadelphia, New York, Springfield, Massachussets, Hartford, Atlanta, and other cities. Because of Elijah's affliction with asthma, he gave Malcolm more and more responsibilities. Malcolm became known as the Nation of Islam's number two man, and spoke often on radio, television, and at colleges. He began to sense jealousy among some of the other leaders, and noticed that a news blackout was being imposed on him.

In the meantime, Malcolm had met a young nursing student, Betty X, who taught the women of Islam. Occasionally he would speak to her or ask her questions about her work. Once when he was in Detroit, he called her long distance in New York and asked her to marry him. She answered yes, and they were married January 14, 1958 in Lansing.

About the time of his news blackout he learned that some of the secretaries of Elijah had become pregnant. He spoke to Elijah about it, and Elijah told him that prophecy was being fulfilled. When President Kennedy was assassinated, Malcolm said, "the chickens have come home to roost." Elijah told him not to make any public statements for six months. Malcolm kept silence, but felt that his position was becoming increasingly worse. Finally he decided to visit Mecca.

He made two trips to Africa, and each time was treated with courtesy, respect and brotherhood by the Africans , many of whom would be regarded in America as white men. This caused him to revise his belief that all white men were evil.

In March 1964 he announced to the press that he would form his own organization, the Organization of Afro-American Unity. He established a mosque for the Islam religion called the Muslim Mosque, Inc., but the OAAU would concentrate on political and civil rights activities, and would be open to Negroes of all faiths. He held meetings in the Audubon Ballroom in Harlem.

In the meantime the Nation of Islam was suing to dispossess him of his house in Long Island. During his affiliation with them he had not tried to save or accumulate any money, and had no insurance. On Sunday, February 14th, his home was bombed, but no one was injured. He complained to his associates that the police did not pay any attention to his requests for protection. On the other hand, Deputy Police Commissioner Walter said he refused police protection. After the bombing Malcom said that the acts against him were greater than could be done by the Nation of Islam.

On Sunday the 21st of February, 1965, there was an OAAU meeting scheduled in the Audubon Ballroom. Malcolm had given up Elijah's practice of having everyone searched before admission. There was an altercation near the front, which attracted everyone's attention. Malcolm said, "Hold it ! Hold it ! Don't get excited. Let's cool it, brothers." Some men in the front row stood up and fired at him. He fell over backward. People ran out, or tried to catch the assassins. Betty Shabazz ran to the stage and kneeled over Malcolm. She said, "They killed him !" Someone tried to apply mouth-to-mouth respiration. Two policemen driving by apprehended a man being beaten by the crowd. The man was Talmadge Hayer. (Later Norman 3X Butler and Thomas 15X Johnson were arrested and indicted for the murder of Malcolm X along with Hayer. They were given life sentences for first degree murder.)

Someone got a stretcher from the Columbia-Presbyterial Hospital and Malcolm was placed in it and carried to the hospital. Surgeons cut into his chest to massage his heart. At 3:30 P.M. they gave up. His body was taken to the New York City Medical Examiner's office for autopsy, where it was announced that his death was caused by shotgun wounds in his heart. There were thirteen wounds in his chest from shotgun pellets, and .38 and .45 caliber bullet wounds in his thighs and legs. His body was taken to the Unity Funeral Home, and lay in state from Tuesday, February 23 through Friday, February 26. About 22,000 people filed by to see his body.

Several churches, including the Abyssinian Baptist Church, the Williams C.M.E. Church, and the Refuge Temple of the Church of Our Lord Jesus

Christ refused to take the funeral. At last Bishop Alvin A. Childs of the Faith Temple, Church of God in Christ accepted the funeral. About six hundred and fifty people attended the funeral, where actor Ossie Davis read the eulogy. A funeral procession of about ninety cars followed the body to Ferncliff Cemetery in Ardsley, New York, where Malcolm X was buried February 27, 1965.

* THE LIFE OF MALCOLM X - taken from FOR MALCOLM X, edited by Dudley Randall and Margaret G. Burroughs, pp. 13-17.

B. MALCOLM X EXPLAINS BLACK NATIONALISM

(Malcolm Little left high school at 15 and was jailed at 21 for burglary. In jail he was converted to the Black Muslims and changed his last name to "X". After his release from prison in 1952, he became the American spokesman for Black Nationalists. A year before his assassination, he outlined his views in these words.)

The political philosophy of black nationalism means: we must control the politics and the politicians of our community. They must no longer take orders from outside forces. We will organize, and sweep out of office all Negro politicians who are puppets for the outside forces........

.....Whites can help us, but they can't join us. There can be no black-white unity until there is first black unity. There can be no worker's solidarity until there is first some racial solidarity. We cannot think of uniting with others, until after we have first united among ourselves.....

Concerning nonviolence: It is criminal to teach a man not to defend himself when he is the constant victim of brutal attacks. It is legal and lawful to own a shotgun or a rifle. We believe in obeying the law.

In areas where our people are the constant victim of brutality, and the government seems unable or unwilling to protect them, we should form rifle clubs that can be used to defend our lives and our property in times of emergency.....When our people are being bitten by dogs, they are within their rights to kill those dogs.

We should be peaceful, law-abiding-----but the time has come for the American Negro to fight back in self-defense whenever and wherever he is being unjustly and unlawfully attacked.

If the government thinks I am wrong for saying this, then let the government start doing its job.

C. MALCOLM X AT THE AUDUBON

When you go back over the period of struggle, I think it would be agreed that we've gone through different patterns of struggle, that we've struggled in different ways. Each way that we tried never produced what we were looking for. If it had been productive, we would have continued along that same way. We've tried probably more different methods than any people. But at the same time, I think we've tried more wrong methods than any other people, because most others have gotten more freedom faster than we do. They get more respect and recognition faster than we do. We get promises, but we never get the real thing. And primarily because we have yet to learn the proper tactic or strategy or method to bring freedom into existence.

I think that one of the things that has caused our people in this country to try so many methods is that times have changed so rapidly. What would be proper ten years ago would not have been proper seven years ago, or five years ago, or three years ago . . . .

Several persons have asked me recently, since I've been back, "What is your program?" I purposely, to this day, have not in any way mentioned what our program is, because there will come a time when we will unveil it so that everybody will understand it. Policies change, and programs change, according to time. But objective never changes. You might change your method of achieving the objective, but the objective never changes. Our objective is complete freedom, complete justice, complete equality, by any means necessary. That never changes. Complete and immediate recognition and respect as human beings, that doesn't change, that's what all of us want. I don't care what you belong to--you still want that, recognition and respect as a human being. But you have changed your methods from time to time on how you go about getting it. The reason you change your method is that you have to change your method according to time and conditions that prevail. And one of the conditions that prevails on this earth right now, that we know too little about, is our relationship with the freedom struggle of people all over the world . . . .

I, for one, believe that if you give people a thorough understanding of what it is that confronts them, and the basic causes that produce it, they'll create their own program; and when the people create a program, you get action. When these "leaders" create programs, you get no action. The only time you see them is when the people are exploding. Then the leaders are shot into the situation and told to control things. You can't show me a leader that has set off an explosion. No, they come and contain the explosion. They say, "Don't get rough, you know, do the smart thing." This is their role--they're there just to restrain you and me, to restrain the struggle, to keep it in a certain groove, and not let it get out of control. Whereas you and I don't want anybody to keep us from getting out of control. We want to get out of control. We want to smash anything that gets in our way that doesn't belong there . . . .

So, brothers and sisters, the thing that you and I must have an understanding of is the role that's being played in world affairs today, number one, by the continent of Africa; number two, by the people on that continent; number three, by those of us who are related to the people on that continent, but who, by some quirk in our own history, find ourselves today here in the Western hemisphere differs from anyone else, because everyone else here came voluntarily. Everyone that you see in this part of the world got on a boat and came here voluntarily; whether they were immigrants or what have you, they came here voluntarily. So they don't have any real squawk, because they got what they were looking for. But you and I can squawk because we didn't come here voluntarily. We didn't ask to be brought here. We were brought here forcibly, against our will, and in chains. And at no time have they even tried to pretend that we were brought here to be citizens. Why, they don't even pretend. So why should we pretend? . . . .

This is the richest country on earth and there's poverty, there's bad housing, there's slums, there's inferior education. And this is the richest country on earth. Now, you know, if those countries that are poor can come up with a solution to their problems so that there's no unemployment, then instead of you running downtown picketing city hall, you should stop and find out what they do over there to solve their problems. This is why the man doesn't want you and me to look beyond Harlem or beyond the shores of America. As long as you don't know what's happening on the outside, you'll be all messed up dealing with this man on the inside. I mean what they use to solve the problem is not capitalism. What they are using to solve their problem in Africa and Asia is not capitalism. So what you and I should do is find out what they are using to get rid of poverty and all the other negative characteristics of a rundown society.

Africa is strategically located, geographically between East and West; it's the most valuable piece of property involved in the struggle between East and West. You can't get to the East without going past it, and can't get from the East to West without going past it. It sits right there between all of them. It sits snuggled into a nest between Asia and Europe; it can reach either one. None of the natural resources that are needed in Europe that they get from Asia can get to Europe without coming either around Africa, over Africa, or in between the Suez Canal which is sitting at the tip of Africa. She can cut off Europe's bread. She can put Europe to sleep overnight, just like that. Because she's in a position to; the African continent is in a position to do this. But they want you and me to think Africa is a jungle, of no value, of no consequence. Because they also know that if you knew how valuable it was, you'd realize why they're over there killing our people. And you'd realize that it's not for some kind of humanitarian purpose or reason . . . . .

Another reason the continent is so important is because of its gold. It has some of the largest deposits of gold on earth, and diamonds. Not only the diamonds you put on your finger and in your ear, but industrial diamonds, diamonds that are needed to make machines--machines that can't function or can't run unless they have these diamonds. These industrial diamonds play a major role in the entire industrialization of the European nations, and without these diamonds their industry would fall . . . . .

Not only diamonds, but also cobalt. Cobalt is one of the most valuable minerals on this earth today, and I think Africa is one of the only places where it is found. They use it in cancer treatment, plus they use it in this nuclear field that you've heard so much about. Cobalt and uranium--the largest deposits are right there on the African continent. And this is what the man is after. The man is after keeping you over here worrying about a cup of coffee, while he's over there in your motherland taking control over minerals that have so much value they make the world go around. While you and I are still walking around over here, yes, trying to drink some coffee--with a cracker.

It's one of the largest sources of iron and bauxite and lumber and even oil, and Western industry needs all of these minerals in order to survive. All of these natural minerals are needed by the Western industrialists in order for their industry to keep running at the clip that it's been used to . . . .

I say this because it is necessary for you and me to understand what is at stake. You can't understand what is going on in Mississippi if you don't understand what is going on in the Congo. They're both the same. The same interests are at stake. The same sides are drawn up, the same schemes are at work in the Congo that are at work in Mississippi. The same stake--no difference whatsoever . . . .

These people are beginning to see that. The Africans see it, the Latin Americans see it, the Asians see it. So when you hear them talking about freedom, they're not talking about a cup of coffee with a cracker. No, they're talking about getting in a position to feed themselves and clothe themselves and make these other things that, when you have them, make life worth living. So this is the way you and I have to understand the world revolution that's taking place right now.

When you understand the motive behind the world revolution, the drive behind the African and the drive behind the Asian, then you get some of that drive yourself. You'll be driving for real. The man downtown knows the difference between when you're driving for real and when you're driving not for real. As long as you keep asking about coffee, he doesn't have to worry about you; he can send you to Brazil. So these dams being set up over there in different parts of the continent are putting African nations in a position to have more power, to become more industrial and also to be self-sustained and self-sufficient . . . .

Politically, Africa as a continent, and the African people as a people, have the largest representation of any continent in the United Nations. Politically, the Africans are in a more strategic position and in a stronger position whenever a conference is taking place at the international level. Today, power is international, real power is international; today, real power is not local. The only kind of power that can help you and me is international power, not local power . . . .

If your power base is only here, you can forget it. You can't build a power base here. You have to have a power base among brothers and sisters . . . .

When you see that the African nations at the international level comprise the largest representative body and the largest force of any continent, why, you and I would be out of our minds not to identify with that power bloc . . . . .

D. MALCOLM X ON THE POLITICAL ASPECTS OF BLACK POWER

from The Autobiography of Malcolm X

The black man in North America was sickest of all politically. He let the white man divide him into such foolishness as considering himself a black "Democrat," a black "Republican," a black "Conservative," or a black "Liberal". . . . . when a ten-million black vote bloc could be the deciding balance of power in American politics, because the white man's vote is almost always evenly divided. The polls are one place where every black man could fight the black man's cause with dignity, and with the power and the tools that the white man understands, and respects, and fears, and cooperates with. Listen, let me tell you something! If a black bloc committee told Washington's worst "nigger-hater," "We represent ten million votes," why, that "nigger-hater" would leap up: Well, how are you? Come on in here!" Why, if the Mississippi black man voted in a bloc, Eastland would pretend to be more liberal than Jacob Javits--or Eastland would not survive in his office. Why else is it that racist politicians fight to keep black men from the polls?

Whenever any group can vote in a bloc, and decide the outcome of elections, and it fails to do this, then that group is politically sick. Immigrants once made Tammany Hall the most powerful single force in American politics. In 1880, New York City's first Irish Catholic Mayor was elected and by 1960 America had its first Irish Catholic President. America's black man, voting as a bloc, could wield an even more powerful force.

U.S. politics is ruled by special-interest blocs and lobbies. What group has a more urgent special interest, what group needs a bloc, a lobby, more than the black man? Labor owns one of Washington's largest non-government buildings--situated where they can literally watch the White House--and no political move is made that doesn't involve how Labor feels about it. A lobby got Big Oil its depletion allowance. The farmer, through his lobby, is the most government-subsidized special-interest group in America today, because a million farmers vote, not as Democrats, or Republicans, liberals, conservatives, but as farmers.

Doctors have the best lobby in Washington. Their special-interest influence successfully fights the Medicare program that's wanted, and needed, by millions of other people. Why, there's a Beet Growers' Lobby! A Wheat Lobby! A Cattle Lobby! Little countries no one ever heard of have their Washington lobbies, representing their special interests.

The government has departments to deal with the special-interest groups that make themselves heard and felt. A Department of Agriculture cares for the farmers' needs. There is a Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. There is a Department of the Interior--in which the Indians are included. Is the farmer, the doctor, the Indian, the greatest problem in America today? NO--it is the black man. There ought to be a Pentagon-sized Washington department dealing with every segment of the black man's problems.

Twenty-two million black men! They have given America four hundred years of toil; they have bled and died in every battle since the Revolution; and they were in America before the Pilgrims, and long before the mass immigrations--and they are still today at the bottom of everything.

Why twenty-two million black people should tomorrow give a dollar apiece to build a skyscraper lobby building in Washington, D. C. Every morning, every legislator should receive a communication about what the black man in America expects and wants and needs. The demanding voice of the black lobby should be in the ears of every legislator who votes on any issue.

The cornerstones of this country's operation are economic and political strength and power. The black man doesn't have the economic strength--and it will take time for him to build it. But right now the American black man has the political strength and power to change his destiny overnight.

E. MALCOLM X WRITING ON ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF BLACK POWER

from The Autobiography of Malcolm X

The American black man should be focusing his every effort toward building his own businesses, and decent homes for himself. As other ethnic groups have done, let the black people, wherever possible, however possible, patronize their own kind, hire their own kind, and start in those ways to build up the black race's ability to do for itself. That's the only way the American black man is ever going to get respect. One thing the white man never never can give the black man is self-respect! The black man never can become independent and recognized as a human being who is truly equal with other human beings until he has what they have, and until he is doing for himself what others are doing for themselves.

The black man in North America was economically sick and that was evident in one simple fact: as a consumer, he got less than his share, and as a producer gave least. The black American today shows us the perfect parasite image--the black tick under the delusion that he is progressing because he rides on the udder of the fat, three-stomached cow that is white America. For instance, annually, the black man spends over $3 billion for automobiles, but America contains hardly any franchised black automobile dealers. For instance, forty per cent of the expensive imported Scotch whisky consumed in America goes down the throats of the status-sick black man; but the only black-owned distilleries are in bathtubs, or in the woods somewhere. Or for instance--a scandalous shame--

in New York City, with over a million Negroes, there aren't twenty black-owned businesses employing over ten people. It's because black men don't own and control their own community's retail establishments that they can't stabilize their own community.

F. MALCOLM X WRITING ON THE WHITE MAN AND HUMANITY

from The Autobiography of Malcolm X

The white man--give him his due--has an extraordinary intelligence, an extraordinary cleverness. His world is full of proof of it. You can't name a thing the white man can't make. You can hardly name a scientific problem he can't solve. Here he is now solving the problems of sending men exploring into outer space--and returning them safely to earth.

But in the area of dealing with human beings, the white man's working intelligence is hobbled. His intelligence will fail him altogether if the humans happen to be non-white. The white man's emotions superseded his intelligence. He will commit against non-whites the most incredible spontaneous emotional acts, so psyche-deep is his "white superiority" complex.

Where was the A-bomb dropped . . . "to save American lives"? Can the white man be so naive as to think the clear import of this ever will be lost upon the non-white two-thirds of the earth's population?

Before that bomb was dropped--right over here in the United States, what about the one hundred thousand loyal naturalized and native-born Japanese American citizens who were herded into camps, behind barbed wire? But how many German-born naturalized Americans were herded behind barbed wire? They were white.

Human rights! Respect as human beings! That's what America's black masses want. That's the true problem. The black masses want not to be shrunk from as though they are plague-ridden. They want not to be walled up in slums, in the ghettoes, like animals. They want to live in an open, free society where they can walk with their heads up, like men, and women.

G. MALCOLM WAS A MAN

by Ossie Davis

Mr. Davis wrote the following in response to a magazine editor's question: Why did you eulogize Malcolm X?

You are not the only person curious to know why I would eulogize a man like Malcolm X. Many who know and respect me have written letters. Of these letters I am proudest of those from a sixth-grade class of young white boys and girls who asked me to explain. I appreciate your giving me this chance to do so.

You may anticipate my defense somewhat by considering the following fact: no Negro has yet asked me that question. (My pastor in Grace Baptist Church where I teach Sunday school preached a sermon about Malcolm in which we called him a "giant in a sick world.") Every one of the many letters commended me for having spoken at his funeral.

At the same time--and this is important--most all of them took special pains to disagree with much or all of what Malcolm said and what he stood for. That is, with one single exception, they all, every last, black, glory-hugging one of them, knew that Malcolm--whatever else he was or was not--Malcolm was a man!

White folks do not need anybody to remind them that they are men. We do! This was his one incontrovertible benefit to his people.

Protocol and common sense require that Negroes stand back and let the white man speak up for us, defend us, and lead us from behind the scene in our fight. This is the essence of Negro politics. But Malcolm said to hell with that! Get up off your knees and fight your own battles. That's the way to win back your self-respect. That's the way to make the white man respect you. And if he won't let you live like a man, he certainly can't keep you from dying like one!

Malcolm as you can see, was refreshing excitement; he scared hell out of the rest of us, bred as we are to caution, to hypocrisy in the presence of white folks, to the smile that never fades. Malcolm knew that every white man in America profits directly or indirectly from his position vis-a-vis Negroes, profits from racism even though he does not practice it or believe in it.

He also knew that every Negro who did not challenge on the spot every instance of racism, overt or covert, committed against him and his people, who chose instead to swallow his spit and go on smiling, was an Uncle Tom and a traitor, without balls or guts, or any other commonly accepted aspects of manhood!

Now, we knew all these things as well as Malcolm did, but we also knew what happened to people who stick their necks out and say them. And if all the lies we tell ourselves by way of extenuation were put into print, it would constitute one of the great chapters in the history of man's justifiable cowardice in the face of other men.

But Malcolm kept snatching our lies away. He kept shouting the painful truth we white and blacks did not want to hear from all the housetops. And he wouldn't stop for love nor money.

You can imagine what a howling, shocking nuisance this man was to both Negroes and whites. Once Malcolm fastened on you, you could not escape. He was one of the most fascinating and charming men I have ever met, and never hesitated to take his attractiveness and beat you to death with it. Yet his irritation, though painful to us, was most salutary. He would make you angry as hell, but he would also make you proud. It was impossible to remain defensive and apologetic about being a Negro in his presence. He wouldn't let you. And you always left his presence with the sneaky suspicion that maybe, after all, you were a man!

But in explaining Malcolm, let me take care not to explain him away. He had been a criminal, an addict, a pimp, and a prisoner; a racist, and a hater, he had really believed the white man was a devil. But all this had changed. Two days before his death, in commenting to Gordon Parks about his past life he said: "That was a mad scene. The sickness and madness of those days! I'm glad to be free of them."

And Malcolm was free. No one who knew him before and after his trip to Mecca could doubt that he had completely abandoned racism, separatism, and hatred. But he had not abandoned his shock-effect statements, his bristling agitation for immediate freedom in this country not only for blacks, but for everybody.

And most of all, in the area of race relations, he still delighted in twisting the white man's tail, and in making Uncle Toms, compromisers, and accommodationists--I deliberately include myself--thoroughly ashamed of the urbane and smiling hypocrisy we practice merely to exist in a world whose values we both envy and despise.

But even had Malcolm not changed, he would still have been a relevant figure on the American scene, standing in relation as he does, to the "responsible" civil rights leaders, just about where John Brown stood in relation to the "responsible" abolitionist in the fight against slavery. Almost all disagreed with Brown's mad and fanatical tactics which led him foolishly to attack a Federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, to lose two sons there, and later to be hanged for treason.

Yet, today the world, and especially the Negro people, proclaim Brown not a traitor, but a hero and a martyr in a noble cause. So in future, I will not be surprised if men come to see that Malcolm X was, within his own limitations, and in his own inimitable style, also a martyr in that cause.

But there is much controversy still about this most controversial American, and I am content to wait for history to make the final decision.

But in personal judgment, there is no appeal from instinct, I knew him personally, and however much I disagreed with him, I never doubted that Malcolm X, even when he was wrong, was always that rarest thing in the world among us Negroes: a true man.

And if, to protect my relations with the many good white folks who make it possible for me to earn a fairly good living in the entertainment industry, I was too chicken, too cautious, to admit that fact when he was alive, I thought at least that now, when all the white folks are safe from him at last, I could be honest with myself enough to lift my hat for one final salute to that brave, black, ironic gallantry, which was his style and hallmark, that shocking zing of fire-and-be-damned-to-you, so absolutely absent in every other Negro man I know, which brought him, too soon, to his death.

(Mr. Davis was one of the speakers at the funeral of Malcolm X.)

H. MALCOLM X MISUNDERSTOOD

An editorial in
the Twin City Observer
May 23, 1968

The ceremony honoring the birthday of Malcolm X held at Central High School's athletic field last Monday was disrupted over a controversy concerning what Malcolm stood for: violence or non-violence.

Prior to the break-up of the meeting, the most unimportant aspects of Malcolm X's past seemed to be the ones extolled.

But Malcolm hated the stupidity which led him into crimes of dope addiction, pimping, pandering and burglary. He hated his ignorance in wasting so much valuable time wearing zoot suits, conking his hair and lindy-hopping.

Therefore, to idealize his earlier weaknesses was a dishonor to his memory; for Malcolm came to realize that black junkies and alcoholics were really trying to narcotize themselves against being a black man in the white man's America. And that actually the black man taking dope is only helping the white man to "prove" that the black man is nothing.

The part of his life that should have been eulogized was after he became a Muslim. The Muslim code which he accepted was a strict one. It forbade drinking, cursing, fighting, dancing, carousing and using dope. It encouraged moral responsibility and dignity. It stood against premarital sex, adultery and the eating of pork.

Malcolm X preached that any domestic quarreling, any discourtesy, especially to women, was wrong; that there should be no lying or stealing, and no insubordination to civil authority, except on the grounds of religious obligation.

Malcolm hated the dehumanizing life he lived hustling on the street. He deplored his living off prostitution and dope peddling as the most ignorant and hateful part of his life.

It is a shame that the life of Malcolm X never got beyond this stage of telling at the Central High School field ceremony. He would have wanted the gathering to know that he believed in the responsibilities of a husband and father; the respect for women; honesty, chastity and brotherhood.

The part of his life which he was the proudest of began when he went to Mecca in 1964. There, in the Muslim world, he met fellow Muslims "whose eyes were the bluest of blue, whose hair was the blondest of blond, and whose skin was the whitest of white."

"We were truly all the same (brothers)," he wrote, "because their belief in one God had removed the 'white' from their minds, the 'white' from their behavior, and the 'white' from their attitudes."

It is regrettable that these last years of Malcolm X were not the ones memorialized, for these were the years devoted to justice and dignity for all people: black, white, red and yellow.

I. RON KARENGA AND BLACK POWER

by Joseph C. Hough, Jr.

Another of the leaders in the Black Power movement is Ron Karenga. Karenga, who lives in Los Angeles, is the head of an organization called "US," and like Carmichael, he is dedicated to developing a new pride in being Negro and to the development of Black Power. Somewhat in contrast to Carmichael, however, Karenga emphasizes strongly the need for the black people to become *culturally* distinct as a basis upon which to function politically and economically as a unified group. He argues that the whole problem of Negro identity and pride is dependent upon the American Negroes' recovery of their *African* heritage, and this heritage will form the basis upon which the Negro community can give distinct shape to its own institutions. In other words, if the Negro community is to develop the self-determination and self-respect which is meant by Black Power, Negroes must engage in a cultural revolution.

Karenga suggests *seven* aspects of this cultural revolution. In the first place, the black man must develop a *mythology*. The myth is to be based on black values which can give pride to the black people. It will be a myth which describes the superior qualities of being black, one which gives to the black man a sense of being a chosen people.

Second, the black man must develop a *history* which will be a continuation of mythology down to the present. At present the black man has no heroic images. His only heroes are supplied to him by a white man's history which ignores black people. It is neither Thomas Jefferson nor George Washington who is the hero of the black people. It is a man like Malcolm X who affirmed his blackness and stood courageously in the face of white attacks. It is not a Negro like Senator Edward Brooke of Massachusetts, says Karenga, who is elected by whites, represents whites, and thinks white. The hero is the black man who thinks black and who acts black. The new history will also determine the dates of festivals. The festival days will no longer be Christmas and Easter and the Fourth of July, but rather the dates of significant events in the rise of the American black man.

Third, the black man must develop *social organization*. Presently, the community is disorganized and the men are psychologically emasculated. The restoration of the male as head of the family is one of the primary tasks, and the organization of the community to lift itself toward "separate and equal" status in America is the prime target.

Fourth, the black man must develop political organization. There is no place for him in either the Democratic party or the Republican party. The Republicans at least have the virtue of being honest. They tell the black man that they have nothing for him. The Democrats really mean the same thing, although they can be seductive to the black man because of their professed "love" for him and their alleged "liberal" leanings. All this means is that they "love" to keep him quiet and that they are "liberal" about him living in someone else's neighborhood. There is no place, therefore in either party for the black man, and he must organize his own.

Following political organizations, Karenga suggested that the fifth facet of the revolution must be economic organization. This organization will be based on models of economics derived from the "mother country," Africa, and it will not be capitalistic. He sees the pattern to be one of economic cooperatives organized by, owned by, and staffed by black men who will have as their goal, not profit, but service to the community of black people.

A sixth facet of the black power revolution will be the development of creative art, literary and music forms that are distinctly the forms of expression suitable to the black man. Karenga especially challenges black college students to be active in this phase of the revolution, to create the standards of black beauty, and to interpret the "soul" of black men.

Finally, the development of the "soul" of the black man must be accompanied by education which will create and support a black ethos. This ethos is the matrix in which the black "soul" (the feeling of being black) will come alive. It will be formed by rational reflection upon the traditions and myths of black people to give them a sense of what it means to be black and to establish a solidarity of blackness in which the possession of "soul" is a source of great pride.

Karenga has attempted to initiate this cultural reform by developing a center for instruction in African culture at his Los Angeles headquarters. There he teaches African history, African mythology, and other courses designed to inform the students about the nature of their African heritage. He also places a great deal of stress upon hair styles and manner of dress, and has even introduced instruction in the Swahili language.

The response to Karenga's attempt at "Africanizing" the Negro community has not been very enthusiastic, and other Negro leaders have shown no signs of emulating his strategy. Still, Karenga's program is very indicative of the strongly ethnocentric character of the Black Power movement, and while most Black Power leaders will probably stop short of the kind of total orientation toward Africa that Karenga characterizes, all of them are attempting in some way to tie the distinctiveness of black people in America to their African heritage.

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J. ERNEST W. CHAMBERS

> ". . . ours has been a history of being docile and humble and praying and crying and all kinds of irrational things."

> (Ernest W. Chambers is a barber in Omaha, Nebraska. He went to Creighton University and finished two and a half years of law school. Chambers lives in a public housing project with his wife and three young children.)

From the film, "A TIME FOR BURNING"

Ernest Chambers: We're not going to suffer patiently anymore. No more turning the other cheek, no more blessing our enemies, no more praying for those that despitefully use us. We're going to show you that we've learned the lessons you've taught us. We've studied your history. And you did not take over this country by singing "We shall overcome." You did not gain control of the world like you have it now by dealing fairly with a man and keeping your word.

INTERVIEW: OMAHA, NEBRASKA, MAY 6, 1968

Ernest Chambers: I'm just a person who lives and works down here in the ghetto, and every day I see people who are hurting. I see children who don't have what they need in the way of clothing and food and educational opportunities, and I think about the thoughts that have never entered their minds and that I wish they did have in their minds. But our people are just too concerned about getting the necessities to stay alive. They can't be dreamers or poets or anything like that.

I always feel sorry for anybody who's hurting. There are white people I see hurting and that bothers me, but I'm not broad enough, and patient enough, and I'm not tolerant enough to spread myself thin enough to be concerned with the welfare of white people. It's us, primarily--because I'm one of the people who are hurting and I feel that there are all kinds of agencies and bureaus for white people but there's nothing for us. So I look at all of us who are hurting and I get offers of jobs and things like that, but I couldn't be at ease if I had a lot of money and a nice place to stay and a golf course in the backyard and a swimming pool, and then I'm thinking about all of us down here who are still catching hell.

Martin Luther King's philosophy of non-violence is outdated. I think he was beginning to realize it too. His statements were becoming tougher and his actions were becoming more realistic; they were geared to the kind of problem that he was coping with, and he stopped talking about pricking the conscience of America. Sometimes he allowed himself a little rhetorical flourish of "We're going to save the soul of the nation"--but he stopped talking about pricking the conscience of whites. It would be like having a lion and a lamb standing before you, and the lion has saliva dripping from his jaws and is snarling and growling and the only thing keeping him off you is a heavy, wrought iron chain--then there's the meek little lamb sitting right beside him, and I come on the scene and I'm talking about non-violence. Well, I shouldn't talk about non-violence to the lamb, I should talk to the lion. Well, King talked non-violence to the wrong epople. White people can't point to any period in history where we've oppressed them or mutilated them or enslaved them or anything; ours has been a history of being docile and humble and praying and crying and all kinds of irrational things. But all through history they've had the opportunity to do things to us, and now we're getting some of our ideas of what ought to be done to them by what they've actually done to us.

I always mention integrating schools because we need the white kids in our schools as hostages--not because we can't learn if they're not there, but because if a roof is leaking, they don't want it to leak on little white kids. They don't want the little white kids to be cold in the winter so they put a furnace in. Lake School is about to fall down, and if the only way to get the kids out of that death-trap is to bus them somewhere else--I'm for busing. I'm for anything. I'm for busing, walking, hiking, crawling, creeping--anything, it doesn't make any difference. Whatever will get the children out of these hazardous buildings --I'm for it.

But I would like to have a situation where we have all black teachers who know what they are and are not ashamed of it, in classrooms with nothing but black children. We need this for several generations to get ourselves really together and wake ourselves up to what we are. Then we can talk about mingling and melting, but mingling like you shuffle a deck of cards. Each card maintains its identity. It might change its relative position in the deck, but you pull that card out and it's still an ace of spades--it doesn't try to become Snow White and the seven dwarfs. Well, that's what we try to do when we get in an integrated school--we try to talk like them, walk like them, think and act like them, and the highest compliment somebody can pay us is if they say, "If I didn't look at you I wouldn't know you were black" of "If I didn't see you I'd think you were white." I don't want that to happen to me.

You know, a funny thing--when I was a child, with all they taught me about God, I was more afraid of God striking me dead than I was of the devil getting me. The way they would always say God is going to kill you if you don't do this or that, I began to see the devil as somewhat of an underdog, somebody who's probably mistreated and unjustly accused, and he became not a bad thing in my mind--I wasn't afraid of the devil. If I ever could have seen him, I probably would have had great admiration and respect for him.

My little girl goes to Sunday School every week. She came home the other day and told me about Abraham and Lot and how they taught her in Sunday School that Lot was mean because Lot's and Abraham's families were too big to stay in the same place so they had a choice, one could take the desert which was dry and hot and dusty and everything, and the other could take the green grass with birds flying and water and so forth, and Lot chose the grass. So my daughter said that Lot was mean. I said, "Well, which would you have chosen?" She knows that she would have chosen the green grass and the water, but she knows the jive that they told her in church. So without having her answer, I said, "Now if you've got a family and you've got children, wouldn't you like to have these nice things for your children?" So she said, yes, she would. "Does that make you mean?" She said, no. Then I called her brother Mark, and I laid the same situation down for him and asked him which one he would have chosen. He would have chosen the pleasant area too. So I ask her, when she gets ready to go to church would she like to wear a raggedy dress or a good dress? She said, a good dress. Then I asked her, "Does your teacher at Sunday School wear a good dress or a raggedy one?" She says, a good dress. So I said, "Next time she tells you Lot was mean because he chose the good land, you tell her she's mean 'cause she chose a good dress."

I tell white kids to put themselves in our shoes. We're tired of slaveholders like Washington, Jefferson, and Patrick Henry being held up to our kids as idols. These men were the ones who took away from us the most important things that we have, and they want our children to believe that they are great. Well, we're tired and we never have liked it, but we never found the words to express our dislike before--and now some of us are prepared to back our words up with appropriate action, even though we hope it wouldn't come to that. But I fear it might.

I want children, not only my children but all children, to not have to think any of the thoughts I think now. I wish the situation would arise so that by the time they're old enough to think these things through they won't even believe that it's ever been like it is today. And when we tell them some of these things, they'll say to each other, "Those are stories old folks make up to make us think they had it tough." But it's not going to be like that--my son is going to have to think worse thoughts than I'm thinking now and he's going to have to do things that I haven't done. Because I think thoughts my father didn't think, and do things he didn't do, and I'm not naive enough or so much of a dreamer that I believe things are going to get better. I think they're going to get a lot worse.

I've run into so much mistreatment, so much treachery, and so much dishonesty from white people, that if I could be away from them altogether I would choose to have it that way. But that is not going to occur in America. So it's up to the young people, both black and white, to bring about a change so that we can live in peace together. If there's going to be a resolution of the problem, it's going to be the young people who bring it about.

K. ROBERT LEE JOHNS

"And let me tell you, my chances are just as good as yours."

(In 1966, 17-year-old Robert Lee Johns lived in Oakland, California, with his mother and nine brothers and sisters. Toward the end of the eleventh grade he left school. He found a job, tried to save some money, and reentered school the following fall. During the San Francisco riots that year he was arrested for arson, tried, and found guilty. He was made a ward of the court and kept under detention as a juvenile offender. A documentary film of the events in Robert Lee Johns' life was made during the several months leading up to his arrest. One year later he was released from detention. He got married and now lives with his wife in a suburb south of Oakland.)

INTERVIEW: VALLEJO, CALIFORNIA, MAY 8, 1968

Robert Lee Johns: Aaaah, it was just a film. It didn't mean a damn thing. They were things that happened, man, except sometimes you have to be just acting, walkin' up and down the street and such. But one good thing, I think maybe a lot of my friends can set back and look at it and say, man, I don't want to be in that bag--I don't want to be in the bag that boy's in. And maybe that film will do somebody some good that way. You know, the trouble is that most people think the Negro is a born thief and a robber. In a way that film sorta showed that he was, in a way, but this is really just what the rich people think. You know, it's sort of like in Vietnam. They have feelings there too, but nobody knows it.

That judge didn't understand me worth a damn. I talked to him real serious and he didn't know what I was talkin' about. But at the same time he was really just trying to slow me down, so he wasn't an all-bad man. He could see that I was headed where a lot of the other guys were headed, but he was trying to slow me down before I got there. But there was the investigating officer. That b---- was something else again. All he does is judge me on my record. He looked it up in the book on the piece of paper and said that's him, and that wasn't me at all. He just got me on my record.

All I'd been doing was just standing on the sidewalk watching the world go by--all the fellows out there--and a great big fear was building up into me, because one thing I saw was I watched all my friends sent to jail and they got sent to lots worse jails than I got sent to because at the camp they allow you a lotta freedom, and you can study, and sometimes you can even go home. But most of my friends get sent to other jails. In a way I'm glad I went, but at first I really objected. I really kicked and yelled. But I'm really glad now that I went. Well, I found out what my problem was. My problem was always the fear of being left out. I'd see those guys out there and they'd have cars and they'd be making it, and I was afraid I wasn't going to be able to make it. Things kept coming at me too fast, and I was afraid I wasn't going to be able to keep up with them. My big fear was always keeping up with the rest of the people. I was afraid I wouldn't be able to make it.

When you get into the camp it's hard, man, it's really hard. But once you get going you find out it's not so hard, and it's the same thing with studying. When I was there I took classes. I took classes in English, I took classes in arithmetic, and I even went to summer classes, and I met a couple of people there who were real good to me. One of them was my probation officer, Willie Hopkins. He got to know me real well and I got to trust him. And another guy I talked to was the psychologist, and he came on to me like I never heard anybody come on before. He talked to me not like I was, what any other married man has, and I'm gonna get it. I just can't spend my time on nothin', I just can't sit around no more, just can't do it. I gotta make it 'cause not makin' it is really bad.

And let me tell you, my chances are just as good as yours. You better believe it--just as good as yours. You know why? Because it's the mind that makes it, it's the mind that controls the body--and when you put that mind in gear, and I'm putting my mind in gear, you come out a different man. That's one of the things that's happening to me.

You know, sometimes it don't pay to worry about nothin'. Just takes up space in your mind and you don't get nowhere with it. So I don't worry no more. One thing that I learned is that nobody can make anybody do something just because they think it's better--nobody. And so long as you're me, you know that nobody can make you do something you don't want to do--never again. Knowledge is one of my main interests right now. I learned to read, and I'm readin' all the time. I read all kinds of books over there. Sure, I still read. I got books here.

I got a job at this children's center, you know, with kids, and I worked most of the summer and I like it pretty well. I was finding out about the other part of life.

I don't know why I left. Anyway, I left, I drifted out of that and drifted over to another job. It was a part-time job, gardening. But there were two of us there, and I'd hoped that it would be a full-time job, but then the other guy had a wife and kids, so, as usual, he got the job.

It's harder now, it's harder now, but things change every day. The city changes every day, Vallejo changes, everything changes, and it's getting worse, man, it's getting worse. You know the riot was bound to happen again unless things change. It's getting harder all the time.

The kind of job I'd like to have, I'm not qualified for right now. I don't know what kind of job I'd like to have, but I know it's a job I'm not qualified for right now so I'm gonna do things about it. I'm gonna keep reading, I'm going to go to the junior college, and I'm gonna take classes until I can have the kind of job I feel I ought to be qualified for. Working with my mind, man, not with my muscles--with my mind. You know, like those cats that sit over there in the office and work at the typewriters. Things like that, using their heads, you know, like working with the earphones, listening to the tape recorders, and typing.

Can't tell anything about the future because I don't like to plan too much--not just right now. I feel I ain't qualified, you know, like to plan, and I ain't gonna talk to you about the future. But I can tell you one thing, man, it's beautiful bein' married--beautiful bein' married.

L. A COMMENT ON "BLACK RACISM" AND LIBERATION

by Milt Williams

"The image makers of white America have already launched their campaign to pervert the meaning of the black man's earnest attempt at self-discovery, cleansing, regeneration, and fulfillment. Before black America is able to rid itself of the historical hang-ups (white definitions), new definitions are being hastily placed on his activity by "fair-minded" distant observers.

"Black racism" is the new label. The rock thrown through a window by a frustrated and emancipated (non-institutionalized) 13-year-old boy is being equated with the violence that took more than 2,000 black lives (lynchings) during the first part of the century. The work of sincere black individuals engaged in teaching their young (for their health and well being) something about their heritage is being equated with the racial ostracism of institutional American life.

The forces of history are now at the helm, dictating that it is time for black liberation. The game of semantics, "integration," "segregation," or "separation" is irrelevant. People need access to the democratic process, and that is all. Liberation is the central question, and it can come "segregated" or "integrated."

M. THE CASE FOR BLACK SEPARATISM

by Robert S. Browne

(Robert S. Browne is an assistant professor of economics at Fairleigh Dickinson University and a member of the Advisory Committee of the Black Power Conference.)

If the Mass Media are to be believed, the most sensational information leaked to the general public from the closed sessions of the Conference on Black Power, recently held in Newark, New Jersey, concerned the adoption of a resolution which favored the partitioning of the U. S. into two separate nations. Understandably, any effort to split the U. S., or any other major power, is certainly prime news--witness the storm which President de Gaulle aroused by his support for French separatism in Canada. Consequently, the attention which the press has focused on this resolution is not unexpected. Unfortunately, however, there has been some confusion as to exactly what the resolution says, and considerably more misunderstanding of the traumatic agony which lies behind it. As the individual who had the responsibility for reading this resolution to the Conference for adoption, I should like to clarify some of this confusion for black and white readers alike. (I wish to make it clear at the outset that I do not speak in any official capacity for the Conference.)

With respect to the content of the resolution, it reads as follows (as amended from the floor):

Whereas the black people in America have been systematically oppressed by their white fellow countrymen

Whereas there is little prospect that this oppression can be terminated, peacefully or otherwise, within the foreseeable future

Whereas the black people do not wish to be absorbed into the larger white community

Whereas the black people in America find that their interests are in contradiction with those of white America

Whereas the black people in America are psychologically handicapped by virtue of their having no national homeland

Whereas the physical, moral, ethical, and aesthetic standards of white American society are not those of black society and indeed do violence to the self-image of the black man

Whereas black people were among the earliest immigrants to America, having been ruthlessly separated from their fatherland, and have made a major contribution to America's development, most of this contribution having been uncompensated, and

Recognizing that efforts are already well advanced for the convening of a Constitutional Convention for the purpose of revising the Constitution of the U. S. for the first time since America's inception, then

Be it resolved that the Black Power Conference initiate a national dialogue on the desirability of partitioning the U. S. into two separate and independent nations, one to be a homeland for white and the other to be a homeland for black Americans.

Clearly, this is not a radical resolution. Like the Declaration of Independence, it enumerates some of the felt grievances of the people. But it is more moderate in tone than Jefferson's Declaration and its action clause stops considerably short of that of the 1776 document. Significantly, it asks not for separation but merely for dialogue. In this sense, it is possibly the mildest resolution which the Conference adopted.

Nevertheless, as the press reported, this resolution received perhaps the most thunderous ovation of the entire Conference. Obviously, this enthusiasm was not due to the resolution's moderation but to the fact that reference to an all-black state touched deep sensitivity in the emotions of the audience. All of those who applauded and approved the resolution can by no stretch of the imagination be considered active partisans of the idea of a separate state. But just as surely, as black people have become progressively more disillusioned at the prospect of ever finding a dignified niche for themselves in American society, so have they become more eager to explore any avenue which may offer greater promise. What the support for the resolution unmistakably revealed was the depth of the despair about white America which is now prevalent in the black community; and therein lies its significance.

Taken at face value, the resolution is far from an expression of racism or hate. Rather, it is a straightforward effort to explore an obvious means of minimizing racial friction by suggesting some fair basis for the physical separation of the contending parties. Partioning of the U. S. into separate black and white nations will conceivably appeal to both the Southern white recist and the Northern black nationalist, and it can with equal inaccuracy be characterized as painfully conservative or wildly radical. The intent of the resolution, however, is to free the partition concept from the deadly embrace of extremists and to afford it consideration by moderates of both races. The social climate in America is being transformed at a dizzying pace, and those who summarily dismiss the partition concept as being too radical to merit serious consideration risk committing the classic error of ignoring the pleas of the moderate center and thereby sentencing the country to the terror of the irresponsibles on the two extremes.

A certain amount of hostility toward any modification of the American political structure is only natural. Indeed, the nation's bloodiest war was fought under the banner of "preserving the Union," so that on sentimental grounds alone the resistance to partitioning can be expected to be massive. But primitive emotion is scarcely a sound guide for policy. Besides, sensitive persons must with increasing frequency ask themselves if there really remains much of a Union to preserve.

One of the few lessons which history teaches us is that nothing created by man is immutable, least of all his political architecture. Only those who are completely lacking in historical perspective are likely to believe that the U. S. has settled its political form and its geographical boundaries for all time. The political realist is not only aware that man-made institutions are never eternal; he realizes that it is not even desirable that they should be. Rather, they must be amendable to constant reshaping to meet changing conditions. The hope which underlies the partition resolution is that the anticipated initial hostile reaction to the proposal can be gradually stripped away and replaced by non-hysterical discussion and analysis as to whether or not partitioning of the national territory offers a promising solution to our racial quandary.

As this dialogue progresses, serious exploration and research will be required probing the legal, political, economic and sociological implications of partitioning and of population relocation. Assumptions will have to be made regarding just what portions of the present territorial U. S. will be included in each of the two new nations and how assets will be apportioned. The mechanisms for negotiating such a partitioning will have to be examined intensively, as well as the basis for recognition of official negotiators for the black community. The answers to such questions obviously cannot be found in one month or in one year. Ultimately, the proposal may well prove unworkable because some of these questions may prove unanswerable. But the mere fact that the modalities of implementation are difficult to formulate is certainly no reason to prejudge the merits of the proposal and to dismiss if from consideration as a viable alternative if it seems to speak to the needs of a large segment of the population.

There is ample historic precedent for national partitioning, the most appropriate contemporary model probably being the division of the former British India into today's India and Pakistan. This schism, which was made along religious rather than racial lines, was accompanied by personal hardships of such magnitude that one hesitates to refer to it as a model. A substantial portion of these human tragedies, however, appear to have stemmed from the precipitous manner in which the entire matter of partitioning was agreed to and effectuated. Only during a brief period was partition given really serious consideration and then, suddenly, because of political pressures, it was abruptly approved and implementation begun--an implementation which involved the relocation of tens of millions of people. An atmosphere of extreme bitterness and hostility prevailed throughout the area and in such circumstances atrocities were easily predictable. The grossly inadequate administrative preparations for so gigantic an undertaking also contributed to the widespread hardships which occurred. By encouraging a national dialogue, the Black Power resolution hopes to diffuse the intense emotionalism which the proposal is certain to arouse, and to stimulate serious planning as to how such a project could best be carried out, thus avoiding many of the pitfalls which befell India and Pakistan.

It should not be overlooked that such racially white and culturally Western countries as Canada, Belgium, and Spain all harbor strong separatist movements. The separatists in these countries are not considered a lunatic fringe but constitute a significant political force. In these countries the dialogue proceeds at a leisurely pace and continuous efforts are made to accommodate the nation to the demands of the ethnic or linguistic minority. It is also noteworthy that in the examples of classical decolonization, violence has tended to occur principally when dialogue and national planning were absent (e.g., Ireland, Indonesia, Algeria) and to have been largely avoided where honest dialogue was permitted (Ghana, Zambia, French Africa).

I frankly do not know how many blacks would favor a separatist solution of the type proposed. Many of us suffer from a serious inferiority complex about our race and may doubt our ability to operate a successful nation, despite the inspiring example of several of the African countries which came into independence with handicaps of illiteracy and lack of capital far more serious than those we would face. My experience suggests that the number of blacks who would support the idea of partitioning is nevertheless sufficient to warrant serious national consideration of its feasibility. I have listened to the voices of my people and I know that they are desperate. Talk of violence and of revolution hangs heavy in the atmosphere of both black and white America. Not surprisingly, black leadership is in the vanguard of those who recognize and articulate the need for drastic changes in American society. However, the black community's role in effecting these changes remains unresolved. Partition has the significant advantage of offering a path which, with proper goodwill, can be trod nonviolently. It has the disadvantage of speaking primarily to the basic problem facing black America and not to the problems of the total society. Clearly, some new path will have to be taken to relieve the desperation of black Americans. Partition is being offered as one way out. Does white America have an equally reasonable counter-proposal?

The sources of this desperation of the Negro should have been fairly well known by now. In case they were not, the resolution's drafters took the Jeffersonian view that "a decent respect of the opinions of mankind requires that they sould declare the causes which impel them to the separation." Yet, in their formalized brevity, the "whereas" clauses of the resolution hardly convey the full panoply of frustrations which have driven some blacks to an endorsement of separatism.

Unquestionably, the gloomy statistics on black unemployment, income, housing and disease create the general framework for this despair--statistics which the Negro must read against the background of a decade of both unprecedented national civil rights activity and unprecedented national prosperity. The black community clearly sees itself getting a progressively smaller share of the pie as the pie itself grows ever larger. Coupled with these economic statistics are the sociological ones: schools are more segregated than ever before; cities are more ghettoized in 1967 than in 1937.

For the upper middle class Negro, as for most whites, these figures on the deterioration of the Negro's position since World War II are sometimes difficult to grasp, for on the surface much progress is in evidence. Well scrubbed, nattily dressed Negroes are to be seen working in myriad sorts of establishments from which they were formerly barred; they are increasingly seen at private social functions of upper class whites; they are even to be glimpsed occasionally in advertisements for well known products, and in non-stereotype roles in TV and film entertainment. A Negro sits on the Supreme Court, another sits on the Federal Reserve Board, and one has been elected to the Senate from a primarily white constituency.

Indeed, it is these very strides which have been, at least in part, responsible for the current crisis in Negro leadership. The traditional leaders point with pride to their accomplishments and conclude that they are pushing matters at as fast a pace as the white society will permit. Meanwhile, the great bulk of the black community sinks ever lower, increasingly resentful of its worsening position vis-a-vis the black elite as well as vis-a-vis the whites. As a result, the black masses are becoming politicized, are developing a class consciousness, and are rejecting the existing Negro leadership. An unexpected, although possibly temporary, interruption in this process of polarization of the black community occurred last winter as fallout from the Adam Powell incident. The manner in which virtually all segments of the white community openly supported the attack on Congressman Powell, the supreme symbol of black achievement of power in America, served as an eye-opener to all blacks, whatever their level of sophistication and economic achievement. If Powell, the epitome of power, was not safe, then clearly no black man was safe and it was obviously naive to think otherwise. The Powell incident, by the very grossness of its racism, built a precarious bridge between the increasingly bitter, increasingly segregated black masses, and the increasingly affluent, increasingly integrated black middle class. Their interests were once again shown to be identical, even if involuntarily so.

Clearly, it is as a measure of self-defense that the black community has begun to draw together and even to discuss separatism. Let every liberal white American ponder this.

The bridge between the two segments of the black community is by no means a stable one, largely because of the schizophrenia of the black middle class. Whereas the black masses, both those in the rural South and those who have flooded into Northern cities in the past quarter century, aspire primarily for a higher standard of living and for freedom from the indignities and oppressions which their blackness has attracted to them, the middle-class Negroes have developed more subtle tastes. To varying degrees, these Negroes have become "assimilated" into white society and lead lives which are spiritually dependent upon the white community in a way that the mass of Negroes could never comprehend. For them, an integrated America is fast becoming a reality and the thrust of their effort is to extend the integration concept to every corner of the country. Their schizophrenia arises from the inescapable reminders of their vulnerability. Even with a Ph. D., a Nobel prize, a Congressional Medal of Honor or a vast fortune, a Negro is still a "nigger" to many (most?) white Americans and the society does not let him forget it for very long. Nor does the sensitive Negro really want to forget it; he wants to change it.

But perhaps the most unsettling of all the factors affecting the mental health of the black man in this white society is the matter of identification. It can be exemplified by the poignant, untold agony of raising black, kinky-haired children in a society where the standard of beauty is a milk-white skin and long, straight hair. To convince a black child that she is beautiful when every channel of value formation in the society is telling her the opposite is a heart-rending and well-nigh impossible task. It is a challenge which confronts all Negroes, irrespective of their social and economic class, but the difficulty of dealing with it is likely to vary directly with the degree to which the Negro family leads an integrated existence. A black child in a predominantly black school may realize that she doesn't look like the pictures in the books, magazines and TV advertisements, but at least she looks like her schoolmates and neighbors. The black child in a predominantly white school and neighborhood lacks even this basis for identification.

This identity problem is, of course, not peculiar to the Negro. Minorities of all sorts encounter it in one form or another--the immigrant who speaks with an accent; the Jewish child who doesn't celebrate Christmas; the Oriental whose eyes are slanted. But for the Negro the problem has a special dimension, for in the American ethos a black man is not only "different," he is classed as ugly and inferior. This is not an easy situation to deal with, and the manner in which a Negro chooses to handle it will both be determined by and a determinant of his larger political outlook. He can deal with it as an integrationist, accepting his child as being ugly by prevailing standards and urging him to excel in other ways to prove his worth; or he can deal with it as a black nationalist, telling the child that he is not a freak but rather part of a larger international community of black-skinned, kinky-haired people who have a beauty of their own, a glorious history and a great future. In short, he can replace shame with pride, inferiority with dignity, by imbuing the child with what is coming to be known as black nationalism. The growing popularity of this viewpoint is evidenced by the appearance of "natural" hair styles among Negro youth and the surge of interest in African and Negro culture and history.

Black Power may not be the ideal slogan to describe this new self-image which the black American is developing, for to guilt-ridden whites the slogan conjures up violence, anarchy, and revenge. To frustrated blacks, however, it symbolizes unity and a newly found pride in the blackness with which the Creator endowed us and which we realize must always be our mark of identification. Heretofore this blackness has been a stigma, a curse with which we were born. Black Power means that this curse will henceforth be a badge of pride rather than of scorn. It marks the end of an era in which black men devoted themselves to pathetic attempts to be white men and inaugurated an era in which black people will set their own standards of beauty, conduct and accomplishment.

Is this new black consciousness in irreconcilable conflict with the larger American society? In a sense, the heart of the American cultural problem has always been the need to harmonize the inherent contradiction between racial (or national) identity with integration into the melting pot which was America. In the century since the Civil War, the society has made little effort to find a means to afford the black minority a sense of racial pride and independence while at the same time accepting it as a full participant in the larger society. Now that the implications of this failure are becoming apparent, the black community seems to be saying, "Forget it! We'll solve our own problems." Integration, which never had a high priority among the black masses, is now being written off by them as being not only unattainable but actually harmful--driving a wedge between the black masses and the so-called Negro elite. To these developments has been added the momentous realization by many "integrated" Negroes that, in the U. S., full integration can only mean full assimilation--a loss of racial identity. This sobering prospect has caused many a black integrationist to pause and reflect even as have his similarly challenged Jewish counterparts. Thus, within the black community there are two separate challenges to the traditional integration policy which has long constituted the major objective of established Negro leadership. There is the general skepticism that the Negro, even after having transformed himself into a white blackman, will enjoy full acceptance into American society, and there is the longer-range doubt that even should complete integration somehow be achieved, it would prove to be really desirable, for its price may be the total absorption and disappearance of the race--a sort of painless genocide.

Understandably, it is the black masses who have most vociferously articulated these dangers of assimilation, for they have watched with alarm as the more fortunate among their ranks have gradually risen to the top only to be promptly "integrated" off into the white community--absorbed into another culture, often with undisguised contempt for all that had previously constituted their heritage. Also, it was the black masses who first perceived that integration actually increases the white community's control over the black one by destroying black institutions, and by absorbing black leadership and coinciding its interests with those of the white community. The international "brain drain" has its counterpart in the black community, which is constantly being denuded of its best trained people and many of its natural leaders. Black institutions of all sorts--colleges, newspapers, banks, even community organizations--are all experiencing the loss of their better people to the newly available openings in white establishments, thereby lowering the quality of the Negro organizations and in some cases causing their demise or increasing their dependence on whites for survival. Such injurious, if unintended, side effects of integration have been felt in almost every layer of the black community.

If the foregoing analysis of the integration vs. separatism conflict exhausted the case for partition then we might conclude that the problems have all been dealt with before, by other immigrant groups in America. (It would be an erroneous conclusion, for while other groups may have encountered similar problems, their solutions do not work for us, alas.) But there remains yet another factor which is cooling the Negro's enthusiasm for the integrationist path he is becoming distrustful of his fellow Americans.

The American culture is one of the youngest in the world. Furthermore, as has been pointed out repeatedly in recent years, it is essentially a culture which approves of violence, indeed enjoys it. Military expenditures absorb roughly half of the national budget. Violence predominates on the TV screen and the toys of violence are best selling items during the annual rites for the much praised but little imitated Prince of Peace. In Vietnam, the zeal with which America has pursued its effort to destroy a poor and illiterate peasantry has astonished civilized people around the globe. In such an atmosphere the Negro is understandably restive about the fate his white compatriots might have in store for him. The veiled threat by President Johnson at the time of the 1966 riots--suggesting that riots might beget pogroms and pointing out that Negroes are only ten per cent of the population--was not lost on most blacks. It enraged them, but it was a sobering thought. The manner in which Germany herded the Jews into concentration camps and ultimately into ovens was a solemn warning to minority peoples everywhere. The casualness with which America exterminated the Indians and later interned the Japanese suggests that there is no cause for the Negro to feel complacent about his security in the U. S. He finds little consolation in the assurance that if it does become necessary to place him in concentration camps it will only be as a means of protecting him from uncontrollable whites: "protective incarceration," to use governmental jargonese.

The very fact that such alternatives are becoming serious topics of discussion has exposed the Negro's already raw and sensitive psyche to yet another heretofore unfelt vulnerability--the insecurity which he suffers as a result of having no homeland which he can honestly feel his own. Among the major ethno-cultural groups in the world he is unique in this respect. As the Jewish drama during and following World War II painfully demonstrated, a national homeland is a primordial and urgent need for a people, even though its benefits do not always lend themselves to ready measurement. For some, the homeland constitutes a vital place of refuge from the strains of a life led too long within a foreign environment. For others, the need to reside in the homeland is considerably less intense than the need for merely knowing that such a homeland exists. The benefit to the expatriate is psychological, a sense of security in knowing that he belongs to a culturally and politically identifiable community. No doubt this phenomenon largely accounts for the fact that both the West Indian Negro and the Puerto Rican exhibit considerably more self-assurance than does the American Negro, for both of the former groups have ties to an identifiable homeland which honors and preserves their cultural heritage.

It has been marveled that we American Negroes, almost alone among the cultural groups of the world, exhibit no sense of nationhood. Perhaps it is true that we do lack this sense, but there seems to be little doubt that the absence of a homeland exacts a severe if unconscious price from our psyche. Theoretically, our homeland is the U.S.A. We pledge allegiance to the stars and stripes and sing the national anthem. But from the age when we first begin to sense that we are somehow the age when we first begin to sense that we are somehow "different," that we are victimized, these rituals begin to mean less to us than to our white compatriots. For many of us they become form without substance; for others they become a cruel and bitter mockery of our dignity and good sense; for relatively few of us do they retain a significance in any way comparable to their hold on our white brethren.

The recent coming into independence of many African states stimulated some interest among Negroes that independent Africa might become the homeland which they so desperately needed. A few made the journey and experienced a newly-found sense of community and racial dignity. For many who went, however, the gratifying racial fraternity which they experienced was insufficient to compensate for the cultural estrangement which accompanied it. They had been away from Africa for too long and the differences in language, food and custom barred them from experiencing the "at home" sensation which they were eagerly seeking. Symbolically, independent Africa could serve them as a homeland: practically, it could not. Their search continues--a search for a place where they can experience the security which comes from being a part of the majority culture, free at last from the inhibiting effects of cultural repression and induced cultural timidity and shame.

If we have been separated from Africa for so long that we are no longer quite at ease there, then we are left with only one place to make our home, and that is this land to which we were brought in chains. Justice would indicate such a solution in any case, for it is North America, not Africa, into which our toil and effort have been poured. This land is our rightful home and we are well within our rights in demanding an opportunity to enjoy it on the same terms as the other immigrants who have helped to develop it. Since few whites will deny the justice of this claim, it is paradoxical that we are offered the option of exercising this birthright only on the condition that we abandon our culture, deny our race and integrate ourselves into the white community. The "accepted" Negro, the "integrated" Negro, are mere euphemisms which hide a cruel and relentless cultural destruction which is sometimes agonizing to the middle-class Negro but which is becoming intolerable to the black masses. A Negro who refuses to yield his identity and to ape the white model finds he can survive only by rejecting the entire white society, which must ultimately mean challenging the law and the law enforcement mechanisms. On the other hand, if he abandons his cultural heritage and succumbs to the lure of integration, he risks certain rejection and humiliation along the way, with absolutely no guarantee of ever achieving complete acceptance. That such unsatisfactory options are leading to almost continuous disruption of our society should hardly be cause for surprise.

Partition offers one way out of this tragic situation. Many will condemn it as a defeatist solution, but what they see as defeatism might better be described as a frank facing up to the realities of American society. A society is stable only to the extent that there exists a basic core of value judgments which is unthinkingly accepted by the great bulk of its members. Increasingly, Negroes are demonstrating that they have some reservations about the common core of values which underlie American society--whether because they had little to do with formulating these values or because they feel them to be weighted against their interests. For the Negro in the ghetto especially, the society's values are often as alien and as damaging to him as is its standard of beauty. They are both built on premises which are for him unattainable and often irrelevant.

The alleged disproportionately large number of Negro law violators, of unwed mothers, of non-working adults may be indicators that the supposed community of values is much weaker than had been supposed, although I am not unaware of additional racial socio-economic reasons for these statistics. But whatever the reasons for observed behavioral differences, there is clearly no reason why the Negro should not have his own ideas about what the societal organization should be. The Anglo-Saxon system of organizing human relationships has certainly not proved itself to be superior to all other systems, and the Negro is likely to be more acutely aware of this fact than most Americans.

Certainly partition would entail enormous initial hardships. But these hardships should be weighed against the prospects of prolonged and intensified racial strife stretching into the indefinite future. Indeed, the social fabric of America is far more likely to be able to withstand the strains of a partitioning of the country than those of an extended race war. Indeed, if it happened that the principal of partition were harmoniously accepted by most Americans as the preferable solution, it is possible that only voluntary transfers of population would be necessary. Conceivably, no one would be forced to move against his will. Those Negroes who wanted to migrate to the new nation ("New Africa"?) could do so, and their counterparts could move to the United States. The France-Algeria arrangements could be used as a model. (To put the question of mass transference of populations into its proper perspective, it is well to remember that the U. S. is currently witnessing one of history's great demographic movements, although most Americans are totally unaware of it. In the past 25 years, some four million Negroes, roughly 20 per cent of the total Negro population, have migrated from the rural South to the cities of the North and West. History records few such massive population transfers.)

There is an excellent chance that, following partition, neither nation would be overtly racist. The basis for the present racial animosity would be largely removed by the very act of separation. Reciprocal tourism might very well become a leading industry for both nations, for the realtions between the races would finally be on a healthy, equalitarian basis. A confederation of the two states, perhaps joined by Canada, Mexico and other nations, could conceivably emerge at some future time.

Divorce is an inherent aspect of the American tradition. It terminates the misery of an enforced but unhappy union, relieves the tension and avoids the risk of more serious consequences. It is increasingly apparent to blacks and whites alike that their national marriage has been a disastrous failure. Consequently, in the search for ways to remedy this tragic situation, divorce should obviously not be ruled out as a possible solution. The Black Power Conference resolution asks America to do no more than to give it serious consideration.

Even in the black ghettos it may require considerable time before the idea of partitioning can be evaluated dispassionately, for the Negro has never rejected the indoctrination which he receives in "Americana"; rather, his problem is that he has accepted it too readily, only to discover that it was not meant to apply to him.

But the mood of the ghetto is in a state of unprecedented change and in this new climate a sense of nationhood is groping for expression. It may hold within it the key to mental health for black America, and its ultimate outcome cannot now be foreseen. It may lead to two separate nations or it may lead us toward some as yet untried type of human community vastly superior to the present system of competing nationalisms. The new world community which mankind so desperately needs may rise phoenix-like from the collapsing, unworkable old order. Intelligent, imaginative men must not shrink from exploring fearlessly any avenue which might lead mankind to this new world community. Men may sometimes hate other men. Fortunately, they do not hate mankind. This is the solid foundation upon which we must try to build.

N. "You Figure It Out, Buddy!"

From Rivers of Blood; Years of Darkness
by Robert Conot
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Barney Wateridge was tense. He had been tense all evening in the integrated company at the political meeting in a private home. As the meeting was breaking up, they had heard on the radio about the riot, and it was past 1 o'clock in the morning as he swung the Chevrolet Corvette onto La Brea Ave. With him in the car was Anita Greyson, a social worker for the BPA (Bureau of Public Assistance). A casual acquaintance, she had asked Barney for a lift, and he could hardly have refused her. But he didn't like it.

Anita was young, attractive, and white.

Though he had been moving in Caucasian society for a number of years, Barney still felt ill at ease in the company of whites, afraid he would make some error in his speech, or let his manners slip. During the course of the evening he had smoked a pack and a half of cigarettes, and when they came to the all-night Thrifty Drug Store at the corner of Jefferson Blvd., he decided to stop and buy a carton. As he pulled up, he left the engine running, but automatically flipped the lights on to parking. Anita stayed in the car. When he returned, he placed the cigarettes down between the seats, backed up, and pulled out. He had almost reached Adams, four blocks farther on, when he saw the red light winking behind him.

The light jolted his stomach into a boiling inferno.

Pulling the car to the curb, he got out and walked back, meeting the officer halfway.

"Good evening, sir," the officer said courteously. "May I see your driver's license."

Barney pulled out his wallet, and handed him the license. The officer looked at it.

"Whose car is this?" he asked.

Had it been a white driver, the question might not have been asked, or, if it had been, would probably have been phrased as: "Is this your car?" But it had been part of Barney's reformation that he had learned to ignore the small insult; the insult that might be unintentional.

"It's mine," he replied evenly.

The officer went up to the car, bent down and shone his flashlight onto the windshield visor on the driver's side where the registration was displayed. He checked it against the license. Barney held his breath, but the officer did not even glance at Anita.

"Okay." He straightened up. "Do you know you were driving without your lights on?"

Barney didn't. He went around to the front of the car. Sure enough, he had his parking lights on, but the headlights were off.

"I'm sorry," he said. "I'd just stopped at Thrifty's and it was so light there I guess I hadn't noticed."

"Well, just watch it!" the officer said, starting to hand the driver's license back.

"Thank you very much, officer," Anita said, leaning across the seat toward the driver's side.

The officer looked at her; looked again at Barney. Then, without a word, he pulled back the driver's license, returned to his car, and began writing out a ticket. Barney watched him. A couple of minutes later he was back, clipboard in hand, indicating to Barney where he should sign the ticket, and when and where his court appearance was to be.

Barney looked at the ticket. It cited him for driving without his lights, and for speeding.

"Look!" he said. "I'm guilty of the lights. But I wasn't speeding."

"You must have been," the officer replied. "Otherwise, why would you be driving without your lights on?"

There was no point arguing. Barney signed. He signed and said, "What made you change your mind?"

The officer looked straight toward Anita. "You figure it out, buddy!"

When Barney got back to his apartment in the Hollywood hills, his hands were shaking. He sat in the dark, unable to sleep, smoking cigarette after cigarette. He supposed he should be proud of himself: he had kept his temper. Ten years before, he wouldn't have. Ten years before he would have lashed back, but would have hurt himself more than the white man, but he wouldn't have cared. He wouldn't have cared so long as he could have destroyed the white officer together with himself.

Barney had been born in Puerto Rico in 1937, and been taken to New York in 1943. After a while his father had cut loose, and he was left alone with his mother. He had been in the eighth grade when he'd gotten turned on to marijuana. One day he didn't feel like going to school, so he'd just hung around the block. After that, every day he'd start for school but never get there. He knew he should go, but it was just too much for him. Nobody at the school cared whether he went or not, nobody seemed even to know whether he was there. One day he'd forced himself to go back. He had gone to three classes, and it had confirmed all of his previous impressions.

He'd split again, and never returned.

He'd gotten a job paying $32.50 a week, washing dishes at a restaurant. He had a pad that he shared with another guy, and for which he paid $6 a week. It was exactly six feet by eight feet, and on one side it had a partition that went up only three fourths of the way to the ceiling. A broad had the cubicle next door, and when he was home at night he'd listen to her bringing up her tricks. Sometimes he'd knock on the wall when the guy was there and try to peddle him a couple of joints--if the guy went for it Barney would pull himself up to the top of the partition, and, hanging there, make the deal. That had turned out to be no favor, for she'd given him her disease.

He'd been fourteen years old at the time.

After a while he'd gone round to visit his mother. She'd gotten pregnant again, so he'd told her he'd come home and help her around the house. That summer his father had shown up and asked him if he wanted to go to California.

Barney had gone to California. After a few months, he'd headed back East. His money had run out when he reached Joliet, Illinois. He'd been there a couple of months, when a fellow he'd met had said, "Let's go to Florida."

To Florida they had gone. They had picked fruit, but then gotten into a fuss with the foreman, and were given the word to get out of town. From Florida Barney had gone back to Chicago. From Chicago to Kansas City. From Kansas City to Arizona. He had arrived in California, stayed 10 months, then gone back East again. Four months later he had been back on the West Coast. He hitchhiked. He traveled by boxcar, truck, and barge. One time he found a bicycle, and rode it till the tires gave out. He financed himself by working at the dirty jobs nobody else wanted, making just enough money so he could quit. Wherever he went, it wouldn't take him long before he'd be able to make a connection. Once he had 40 or 50 bucks, he could buy some joints, set himself up, and start pushing. As far as he was concerned, working or pushing, they were both the same.

Finally, in 1953, when he'd come back to California, he'd moved in with his father, who was a custodian for the county, and his stepmother, who was a waitress. He had reenrolled in school, but it had been like before--there seemed no point to it. He did have a great natural talent for drawing--it ran in the family--so he'd switched to trade school. Even so, it hadn't been long before he was back peddling weed again.

He was starting to move into the big time now. He and two other guys and a broad had driven to Chihuahua to pick up weed and pills. They had 14 kilos in the car, and the border patrol had had them pegged and had shaken them down, but could find nothing. As they had arrived back in Los Angeles they had noticed that they were being followed. Barney had been let off at Manchester Playground while the others had gone to make the delivery. He was sitting there on a bench when a police car had started toward him across the grass, and he could see a plainclothes man coming from the other direction. He had had no place to go to, so he'd sat there and waited.

"All right, son. Let's go," the cop had said.

"I'm not your damn son!" he had shot back. But the cop had seemed like a decent sort, so he hadn't put up any resistance.

He'd been made a ward of the juvenile court. The L.A. County Probation Department had sent him to one of its forestry camps, where he'd worked a half day and gone to school half. For the first time in his life he had known that he would eat well every day, that he would have a clean bed to sleep in at night. For the first time in his life he had been able to identify with a group. The camp was divided into squads with names such as Seminoles and Cherokees, who competed against each other for privileges and status--and it was expected by his own peers that he would not let the group down. For the first time, if he did well, he had been rewarded with such small privileges as being named "cab boy"--the one who would ride in the cab of the truck and be a project leader. For the first time he had been able to see his own standing in comparison to the others--rankings were posted weekly on the bulletin board with such notations as "Very good work," or "Unsatisfactory--cry baby." For the first time in his life he had had the feeling that somebody knew who he was; that whatever he did, good or bad, would be recognized. That it did make a difference.

When they saw what artistic talent he had, they had let him concentrate on that. They had a workshop with a lot of materials, and an instructor who really knew what he was doing. Barney had drawn and he had painted; he had begun to live for those hours when he could sit down at his board.

One day he had been in a counseling session with three of the other kids, and the atmosphere had been charged with animosity. Usually that meant it was just a couple of hours of sparring. But this one white character had broken through.

"Hate me!" he'd said. "I want you to hate me. But use that hate in a constructive way, don't let it destroy you!"

They hadn't been able to understand him at first.

"The man who has it in for you," he had gone on, "he wants to set you up. Let's say I come up to you and I call you a 'nigger,' I keep telling you you're a black bastard, until finally you can take it no longer, so you hit me. As soon as you've hit me I call the cops and we all beat on you, and then throw you in jail. You've done exactly what I wanted you to, and I've wound up getting you just where I wanted. Every time you let yourself be pushed like that, all you're doing is helping the man you hate--the white bigot. Stick a knife into somebody, and he'll yell, 'Look at those savages!" Go around peddling pot, or hustling for some gal, and you'll make him a real happy fellow, pointing out 'nigger vice.' Ditch school, and he'll be able to call you uneducated baboons!"

It had been a new approach, one that Barney had never heard before. A white man telling him to hate. It had hit him that what he was saying was right. He had listened as he had never listened before.

"The only reason the white man can hurt you is because he's got power over you. And he'll hurt you again and again, until you've worked yourself up to a point where you're independent of that power. Let's say you go in a barbershop, and the man says, 'Nigger, get out of here!" If you've got no car, if you've only got a few dollars in your pocket and it's the only shop in the neighborhood, he's really got you, hasn't he? All you can do is get mad and call him a white ____________, one thing leads to another, you get in a fight--and like I was saying, you wind up exactly where he wants you.

"But suppose you've got a nice fat wallet and are driving a Cadillac, and the man says, 'Nigger, get out of here!' You can look at him like the pitiable little fellow he is, drive out to Beverly Hills, and get your haircut where they like the smell of your money. So hate. Because hate is a great driving force. But let it drive you up, not down!"

That had been the turning point for Barney. That, and the fact that a Caucasian woman, an artist herself, had seen his work, been impressed with it, and decided to go to bat for him. When, after 10 months, he had been released from the probation camp, he had been able, with her help, to obtain a scholarship to Otis Art Institute. He had started working even before he graduated. In 1957 he had become employed full-time by a Negro newspaper.

The next year an advertising agency, primarily dealing with the Negro market, had hired him. Three years after that his work had become so well known and so highly regarded, that one of the larger advertising agencies had decided they could afford to overlook the color of his skin. That had been at least a partial fulfillment of the counselor's prophecy: his hate had driven him up to the point where the little white man, the fry cook who used to call him "black boy" and order him about, had lost his power over him.

That's when he'd bought the Corvette. He loved that car. Driving it, he felt not only equal, but superior; spiritually clean. It was something that the white man could not deny him, that protected him from the feeling that being black was degrading. For that was the white man's greatest triumph, that he had been able to make black to mean meanness and squalor. That was why the hostility always lurked just beneath the surface in Barney--it was the only way he knew how to cope with the feeling that, at best, the white man just tolerated him.

Hollywood is one of the world's better places for equality--as long as you don't live there--and Barney had had his ups and downs finding an apartment. Even after he'd found it--or, more truthfully, a Caucasian had found it for him--he had been subjected to petty harassments: his television antenna had been cut; mysterious voices had emanated from the plumbing in the middle of the night; a dead skunk floating down on a piece of rope had parked itself in front of his window.

These things had been easier to cope with than the unseen bigotry, the constant question kept going through his mind: when will I be ignored by a white neighbor; how much does he hate me?

After a couple of years he'd been beginning not to let it bother him when, one morning, at 7 o'clock, he'd gone out to find the Corvette with a flat tire. It was parked on a steep hill, and the only level place was the driveway of a house. Not thinking too much about it, he'd backed the car into the driveway, and had just gotten the front wheel off, when a woman in a bathrobe and curlers came out.

"What do you think you're doing there?" she had demanded.

He had explained to her that he had a flat tire; that the driveway was the only place in the vicinity where he could change it without running the risk of the jack's slipping.

"You get out of there right now!" she had screamed at him. "I can't," he had said. "If you'll just give me a minute--!"

"I'll give you one minute. Then I'm going to call the police!"

She had gone inside the house, and slammed the door. Thirty seconds later she had reemerged.

"What are you doing? Why aren't you gone yet?"

"I'm putting the wheel on. I'm putting it on," he had tried to satisfy her.

"You're doing it on purpose! You're blocking my driveway, and I'm expecting some people at any minute. I'm going to call the police!"

"You'll have to call the police, then. I can't help it."

She had gone back inside the house. He was just finishing tightening the wheel nuts when she came out again.

"This is really too much! At 7 o'clock in the morning! I'm calling the police!" she had yelled.

"Call them!" He had thrown up his hands. "I'm about to leave."

She had started for the door; then turned around. "I don't know what gives you such nerve. It must be your color!"

He had just wanted to forget it. But then he had started to think. The incident had undoubtedly given the old shrew a great deal of satisfaction. She would tell her friends about it, she would just love it, make out that he had sassed her, and they would all cluck together in self-righteousness about the "no-good niggers!" So he had gone out, bought a box of the finest candy, had it gift-wrapped, and delivered to her house with the following note: "Thank you for allowing me to use your driveway this morning."

Outside the window of Barney's apartment the first birds were beginning to chirp. Barney lit another cigarette. He had done everything the white society considers proper. He wore Brooks Brothers suits, he had adjusted—after long struggle—his grammar to its ways, he had learned to play bridge, he was very conservative about his personal life, he practiced politeness. Yet, despite all this, he might just as well have been an untouchable in India, there were certain places he could not go, certain things he could not do—if a white girl were seen in his car, it made him fair game for any policeman.

VI EXPRESSION

A. Lenox Avenue Mural

Harlem

What happens to a dream deferred?
Does it dry up
like a raisin in the sun?
Or fester like a sore—
And then run?
Does it stink like rotten meat?
Or crust and sugar over—
like a syrupy sweet?

Maybe it just sags
like a heavy load.

Or does it explode?

Langston Hughes

B. SELECTIONS

The following collection of poems comes from, From the Ashes: Voices of Watts by Budd Schulberg. The authors contributing include a gentle ex-GI, an eighteen-year-old high school dropout, a woman in her middle years originally from Louisiana, a student at Stanford, a social worker and others from a wide range of backgrounds. The mood of the poems, essays, plays, and stories in the book are at times angry, bitter, loving, and witty. Analysis of this material gives an excellent insight into the mood of Watts.

Jimmie Sherman was born in February, 1944, in a project house in Watts, one year after his parents moved from Texas. He dropped out of school when he was in eleventh grade and passed through a period of rebellion, becoming what he himself describes as "a hoodlum." Then he joined the Army at the age of seventeen, and was sent to Europe. After the Army, he drifted from one job to another, and was unloading potato trucks just before he joined the unemployed. He joined the Watt's Writers Workshop after the riot. He has written a play, "Ballad from Watts" which has played successfully at UCLA and other campuses. His poem, "Workin' Machine" has been set to music by Steve Allen.

Leumas Sirrah was one of the original handful of young writers who responded to Mr. Schulberg's efforts to establish a Writers' Workshop in Watts in the fall of 1965. He has always wanted to become a chemical engineer, as well as a writer and artist. Leumas was born in Los Angeles in August, 1947. He did very well in school until the twelfth grade, when, at the age of sixteen, living by himself, he had to drop out and get a job to support himself. He hopes to have another chance to go on to college.

Guadalupe De Saavedra, the son of Mexican migratory workers, was born in January, 1936, in the southernmost part of Texas. In the sixth grade he won second prize in an essay contest and decided to become a writer. After grade school, de Saavedra entered a seminary to study for the priesthood, but left after a year when he was told he did not have a "vocation." For a while he wandered through the Midwest, "bumming from job to job," then joined the Marine Corps. When he left military service he became an insurance salesman, but decided again to go back to college and become a writer. Five days before registration his wife ran off with another man, and he felt his life shattered. After an anguished and aimless time he went to a Buddhist retreat and began picking up the pieces. In the summer of 1966 he joined the Watts Writers' Workshop, which, he says, "has given me a reason for living."

Blossom Powe was born in St. Louis, Missouri, in June, 1929. Her family moved to Los Angeles in 1931 and stayed there for two years, then returned to St. Louis "financially beaten, but not bowed." In 1937 they went to a farm in Maryland and raised tomatoes and corn for a year. Back in St. Louis again, she started school, and wrote her first poem, "Hallowe'en." By the time she was fourteen, she had a part-time job in a laundry, where her father also worked. When she was fifteen, she and her best friend became chorus girls at the Club Riviera, where many of the great jazz musicians played. She finished school in St. Louis (while living with an Aunt) and wrote the valedictory speech for the graduating class. She then joined her family, which had returned to Los Angeles, and soon after was married. She and her husband live in Los Angeles County with their six children.

Birdell Chew, the ninth of fourteen children, was born in June, 1913, in Mumford, Texas. Her father, a farmer, died when Birdell was nine years old, and the family then moved to College Station, Texas. There her mother took the first of various low-paid jobs. Birdell was never able to attend school for long, and sometimes the family went hungry. During a serious illness, which started when she was twelve and lasted several years, she began writing poems and stories. She was married at nineteen, but the marriage was not a happy one and eventually she and her husband were divorced. Ill health continued to prevent her from working enough to fully support herself or to attend school, but she read and taught herself. She is currently writing a novel, The Promise of Strangers.

Negro History

A ship
A chain
A distant land
A whip
A pain
A white man's hand
A sack
Of cotton balls---
The only things
Grandpa recalls.

Jimmie Sherman

My Beard

Is it strange is it frightening to see
Does it derange or bring change
To your rules of conformity?

Why do you frown at my beard---
An item so dear to me?
Does it bring to mind
That I'm trying to find
A thing you may never see---
A thing from the past
To which I hold fast
Known as identity?

Jimmie Sherman

I'm Here!

I'm here!
At last, I'm here!
Despite the pain, despite the fear,
I'm here!
Here to meet another soul and chat a while
At last. I frown; I cry; I smile---
I'm here!
I'm glad I'm here, despite the bitter pain and fear.
The pain feels good!
It's good I'm here!

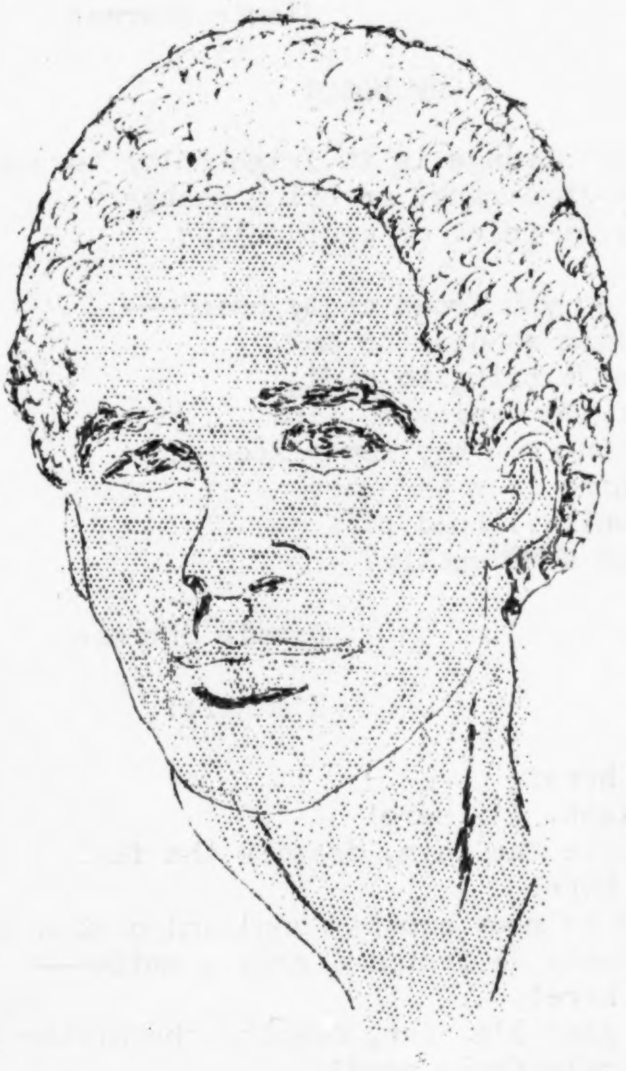
Thanks to life, and hail to birth.
I cheer!
At last a life---Mother Earth
I'm here!

Jimmie Sherman

Race Compliments

Black Man,
You're wise, joyful, and nice.
Yellow Man,
You're good, with good advice.
Red Man,
You're as good as you were in the past.
White Man---
You're last!

Jimmie Sherman

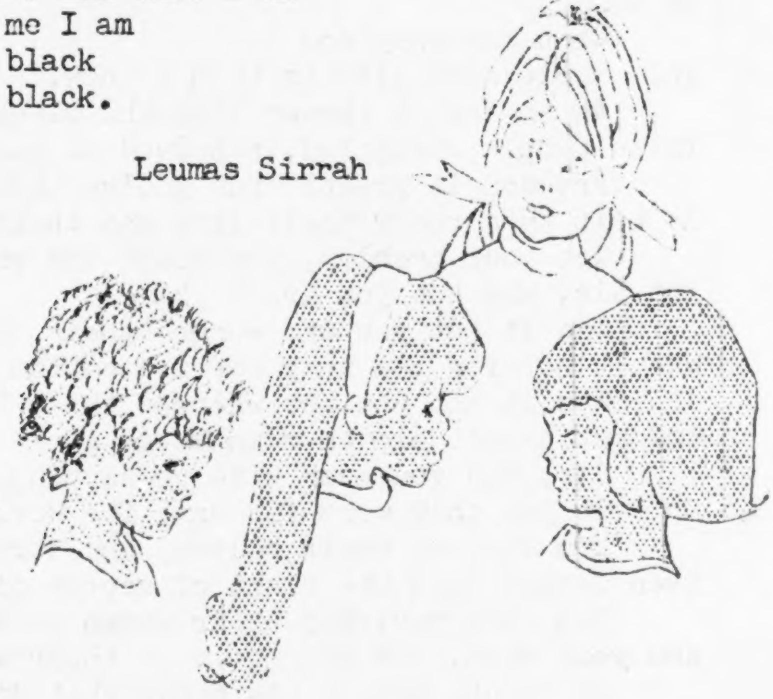


Me---I'm Black

I'm black
I'm black
I can't change the fact
Understand I don't lack
I'm me---I'm black.

I'm me
I'm me
I can't change that
Today is black
Tomorrow, yesterday
I wasn't promised.
I am what I am---
That's all that I am
I'm me I am
I'm black
I'm black.

Leumas Sirrah



The Irony of Fate

From the golden shores of Africa they came,
     To a land they would build; but never claim.
In crude ways their number would grow,
     Their fate none could determine; nor know.
Who were these people? What was their fate?
     How did they actuate the war of the states?
History tells us their status was of a slave,
     hard work was their cross; life, their grave.
As a lost ship battles the raging sea,
     These people fought to stay their destiny.
Beyond brutality and hardships freedom rang,
     But no bells of liberty could remove the pain,
Of bondage!
     What can they do?
This whole damn life to them is new.
     As an infant thrown into the blackest night,
These people struggled, resolved to end their plight.
     Freedom is great! But you've mastered their souls,
So help them renew their life and their goals.
     Not your problem, you stand and proclaim,
But Sir, who but you are to blame?
     Was it not you who worked their backs?
Was it not for you they carried cotton sacks?
     Was it not you who whipped their black souls?
And yet cannot aid them in their goals?
     Sir, did you ever give these people a book?
Or felt you they were fit only for workers and cooks?
     You chained their bodies, and stripped their dignity.
Even denied them the right of sacred divinity.
     You even ravished their women at will.
And your sons, and daughters in their wombs lived.
     As Pilate washed his hands that dark sinful day,
You wish to caste this anchored-evil far away.
     Flee Sir as a frightened fugitive on the run,
But the evil remains; constant as the rising sun.

by Carl Johnston '64

CJ:mg
10/16/69

C. Sock-it-to-me!

"SOCK-IT-TO-ME! THAT PECULIAR POETIC EXPRESSION WHICH HAS CURRENCY IN AFRO-AMERICAN SPEECH, VERBALIZES A SUBTLE MANIFESTATION OF THE NEWEST OF THE NEW MOODS IN BLACK AMERICA. SOCK-IT-TO-ME! HAS THE CULTURAL RELEVANCY THAT THE MISUNDERSTOOD TERM 'BLACK POWER' EMBODIES FOR POLITICAL ACTIONS. LIKE ANYTHING OF SUBSTANCE IN THE AFRO-AMERICAN LIFE-STYLE, THE TERM IS CREATED BY, AND COMES WITH THE VERY SPECIAL BLESSINGS OF THE NITTY-GRITTY FOLK. IT IS NOT FASHIONED BY THOSE WHO THINK OF THEMSELVES AS OTHER THAN WHAT THEY ARE. SOCK-IT-TO-ME! THAT IS TO SAY, GIMME LIFE, IN THE TOUGH AND UNIVERSAL SENSE. GIMME TRUTH, OR LIES, GIMME THE POVERTY AND ITS PAIN, SHOW THE HATE, BUT DON'T HIDE LOVE, MIX THE BAD WITH THE GOOD, REVEAL TO ME WHAT THE INTEGRATED LIFE EXPERIENCE IS ALL ABOUT. TELL IT LIKE IT IS. SOCK-IT-TO-ME! RIGHT BETWEEN THE EYES. THIS IS REALITY."

"Toward a New American Dream: Affirming Blacks' Role in U.S. Life."
Milt Williams, The Minneapolis Tribune, July 21, 1968, p. 1C.

D. We're a winner
And never let anyone say
Why you can't make it
'Cause a feeble mind is in your way.

No more tears do we cry
And we have finally dried our eyes
We're movin' on up; Lord have mercy
We're movin' on up.

We're livin' proof, and all's alert
We're in truth the good black dirt
We're a winner
And everybody knows the truth
So jus' keep on pushin'; like
conscience tells you to.

At last that blessed day has come
An' I don't care where you come from
We're movin' on up, Lord have mercy
We're movin' on up.

Brothers and sisters don't you worry
You'll get yours and I'll get mine
And we'll all say amen and
Together we'll all clap our hands
We're rollin' on
The road is hard to find
And its hard to climb
And we cannot stop
'til we reach that mountain top
We're rollin' on
We're rollin' on.

——Curtis Mayfield & The Impressions

E. Poems on the Life and Death of Malcolm X

THE INSURGENT

Give me my freedom
lest I die
for pride runs through my veins
not blood
and principles
support me so that
I
with lifted head see
Liberty..........not sky!
For I am he who
dares to say
I shall be Free, or dead---
today..........

Mari Evans

TO MALCOLM X

You opened our eyes, you taught us to see
the beauty of blackness, of black unity.

There was so much to do, and so little time
shot in cold boold, while still in your
prime.

Slandered and cursed, so few understood
that you were our symbol --- of black
manhood.

You died like the Savior, who died on the
cross,
a martyr, a prophet, your black brothers'
loss.

Sleep gently, black knight, we'll remember
you when
you walked on this earth, black giant among
men.

George Norman

BROTHER FREEDOM

Lay him down gently, lay him down slow.
Swathe him in linen, wrap him just so.
Turn his young face toward Mecca's soft
glow.
Our fallen warrior, our Brother Freedom.

I never met the man in person.
I only saw him once or twice.
But there was something about Malcolm
That was sincere, decent, nice. Brother
Freedom.

I for one did not agree
With all the things he said,
But I defend his right to speak out
Without paying the price he paid. Brother
Freedom.

They killed our Brother Freedom.
They sealed his flashing eyes.
They stilled his trumpet voice.
They smeared his soul with lies. Brother
Freedom.

Judas guns snuffed out his promise,
Laid prone and silent the brilliant young
hope.
Cut down for the moment the shining black
manhood,
Yet did not touch a hair of Malcolm. Brother
Freedom.

Immortal now, he sits in fine company
With L'Ouverture and Joseph Cinque
With Vesey, Turner and Prosser
Lumumba and Evers and others. Brother
Freedom.

Brother Freedom is dead. Brother Freedom
lives.
His is a spirit that swirls around us
In the vital air, inspiring all
Who seek, salute Freedom. Brother Freedom.

Margaret Burroughs

CAUTION

Grandmother's raped
In the middle of the night.
Got a GOOD break.
Start out half white.

Little Black Boy, don't move too fast.
Your next step up may be your last.

Father's dead
By the white man's hand.
Welfare child
In the white man's land.

Little Black Boy, don't move too fast.
Your next step up may be your last.

Railroad's running,
Big city bound.
New way of living's
Got to be found.

Little Black Boy, don't move too fast.
Your next step up may be your last.

Numbers, pimping,
Bootlegging, dope,
Trickery, guile,
Ambition, hope.

Little Black Boy, don't move too fast.
Your next step up may be your last.

Crime, corruption---
Imprisonment.
Elijah is heard---
Enlightenment.

Little Black Boy, don't move too fast.
Your next step up may be your last.

Hard work, devotion
To the Muslin clan.
Position, power---
Elijah's Right Hand.

Little Black Boy, don't move too fast.
Your next step up may be your last.

"Don't plead, don't beg
To have your way.
Non-violence is not
The revolutionist's way."

Little Black Boy, don't move too fast.
Your next step up may be your last.

"You're too far ahead,"
Elijah says.
"Be quiet, meditate,
Mend your ways."

Little Black Boy, don't move too fast.
Your next step up may be your last.

"The Muslims have come
As far as they can.
Think I'll become
A Black Nationalist man."

Little Black Boy, don't move too fast.
Your next step up may be your last.

Known the world over—
Oratorically adept.
The world recognizes
But will not accept.

Little Black Boy, don't move too fast.
Your next step up may be your last.

Speaking, debating,
Raise freedom's shout---
Make one truth known
Before time runs out.

Little Black Boy, don't move too fast.
Your next step up may be your last.

James R. Lucas

MY ACE OF SPADES

MALCOLM X SPOKE TO ME and sounded you
Malcolm X said this to me & THEN TOLD you
that!
Malcolm X whispered in my ears but
SCREAMED on you!
Malcolm X praised me & thus condemned you
Malcolm X smiled at me & sneered at you
Malcolm X made me proud & so you got scared
Malcolm X told me to HURRY & you began to
worry
Malcolm X sang to me but GROWLED AT YOU!!
Malcolm X words freed me & they frightened
you.
Malcolm X tol' it lak it DAMN SHO' IS!!
Malcolm X said that everybody will be
FREE!!
Malcolm X told both of us the TRUTH......
now didn't he?

Ted Joans

MALCOLM

From the dark ghetto dens where the dope-
pushers swarm
To the cold-turkey cell on the state
prison farm
Bad booze and bad women & burglar alarms,
& his only real friend was a needle.

A life that's so empty you fill it with
wine
A hollow heart echoes the sound of the
times
In a land that is rich & a land that is fine
where only a white boy can make it.

He started to wonder & listen & learn
How white men will sizzle & crackle & burn.
The wages of misery white men will earn in
the words of the prophet Muhammed.

He joined the Black Muslims and preached
for the faith
Till he followed Elijah to a big iron gate.
Now this was Elijah's Chicago estate where
he waits while black people are starvin'.

MALCOLM (continued)

Malcolm left all the black grafters behind
To travel the world & to speak his own mind.
To search for the truth & in searchin' to find
that all kinds of men can be brothers.
With love for the Protestant, Catholic & Jew
Love for the cops & the K.K.K. too.
But how can you love when they're shootin' at
you & you have both your hands tied behind
you?

He read all you books & he learned the tale well
How the colonies fought & the monarchy fell.
No non-violent marches to climb Bunker Hill ---
King George didn't hand you your freedom.
I'm up off my back & I'm up off my knee
No promises, profits or prizes for me.
No tea at the White House until we are free &
I'm willin' to die for my freedom.

He climbed to the rostrum that bright afternoon
To write a new lyric & sing a new tune
To shout for his freedom & never to croon,
'cause Charlie can't hear when you're
hummin'.
Ol' Malcolm Little is little no more
For each one you kill there will be twenty, for:
Give a black man his finger, he'll take his whole
arm. & that's what ol' Malcolm was sayin'.

WHEN YOU DIED

When you died, Malcolm,
Defending and speaking
For the brother that
You loved, we mourned
Your loss.
They silenced you
With shots,
But your voice
is heard
In other youth
Who have taken up
The fight
For Freedom.

WHEN YOU DIED (continued)

Your ringing voice
Has filled the youth
With wild desires to speak,
And from their throats
Loud and strong,
Have come soul stirrings
For Rights, for Freedoms, for Justice
Denied us
For so long, so long, so long.

You did not die in vain,
For the Freedoms you spoke of
WILL be won.
Though aggressive wars
WILL be fought,
Young men's blood
WILL stain the ground,
Anguished cries WILL rend the air,
Yet babies, victims of man's
Inhumanity and barbarism,
Will one day
Breathe the sweet pure air
of FREEDOM.

Christine C. Johnson

F. WHAT S IN A NAME?

NEGRO vs. AFRO-AMERICAN vs. BLACK

By Lerone Bennett, Jr.

National controversy rages over proper name for Americans of African descent.

> "When I use a word," Humpty Dumpty said in a rather scornful tone, "it means just what I choose it to mean--neither more nor less."
>
> "The question is," said Alice, "whether you can make words mean so many different things."
>
> "The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, "which is to be master--that's all."
>
> - Lewis Carroll,
> Through the Looking Glass

More concretely, within the context of the racial looking glass, the question is whether one can make the word "Negro" mean so many different things or whether one should abandon it and use the words "black" or "Afro-American."

This question is at the root of a bitter national controversy over the proper designation for identifiable Americans or African descent. (More than 40 million "white" Americans, according to some scholars, have African ancestors.) A large and vocal group is pressing an aggressive campaign for the use of the word "Afro-American" as the only historically accurate and humanly significant designation of this large and pivotal portion of the American population. This group charges that the word "Negro" is an inaccurate epithet which perpetuates the master-slave mentality in the minds of both black and white Americans. An equally large, but not so vocal, group says the word "Negro" is as accurate and as euphonious as the words "black" and "Afro-American." This group is scornful of the premises of the advocates of change. A Negro by any other name, they say, would be as black and as beautiful--and as segregated. The times, they add are too crucial for Negroes to dissipate their energy in fratricidal strife over names. But the pro-black contingent contends, with Humpty Dumpty, that names are of the essence of the game of power and control. And they maintain that a change in name will short-circuit the stereotyped thinking patterns that undergird the system of racism in America. To make things even more complicated, a third group, composed primarily of Black Power advocates, has adopted a new vocabulary in which the word "black" is reserved for "black brothers and sisters who are emancipating themselves," and the word "Negro" is used contemptuously for Negroes "who are still in Whitey's bag and who still think of themselves and speak of themselves as Negroes."

This controversy, which rages with religious intensity from the street corners of Harlem to the campuses of Southern colleges, has alienated old friends, split national organizations and disrupted national conventions. It was discussed with gravity at a meeting of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, and it is a matter of grave concern to prominent Negro leaders who have been heckled and publicly denounced for using the word "Negro."

Within the last year, several organizations have gone on record in opposition to continued use of the word. At the Racism in Education Conference of the American Federation of Teachers, the delegates unanimously endorsed a resolution which called on all educators, persons, and organizations to abandon the "slavery-imposed name" "Negro" for the terms "African-American" or "Afro-American." A similar resolution was unanimously adopted at the National Conference on Black Power. But the Black Power conferees compounded the problem by insisting upon the substitution of "Black" for the word "Negro." There was additional ferment during this same period on the local level where militant groups passed a variety of pro-Black and pro-Afro-American resolutions and peppered newspapers and magazines with angry and, in some cases, abusive letters.

Some pro-Negro advocates charged indignantly that "the whole black issue was raised by a handful of intellectuals, none of whom are black, except for their beards." But it was obvious that the controversy touched deep emotions in the black community where many segments, particularly the young, are engaged in an agonizing search for self-identity and self-determination. Pressures from these groups and from black professionals gave the movement an edge that isolated nationalists, working alone, had never been able to forge. And it was in response to the growing edge of blackness that several organizations, some of them composed of black professionals, changed their letterheads to indicate the new vision they have of themselves and of their relation to Africa and America. The Negro Teachers Association of New York City, for example, became the African-American Teachers Association. More significantly, in terms of mass impact, the New York Amsterdam News, one of the largest black newspapers, announced that it would no longer use the word "Negro." The newspaper, which now identifies Americans of African descent as Afro-Americans, reports a favorable response to the change. Dick Edwards, the assistant managing editor, says letters are running nine to one in favor of Afro-American. "We like the word," he says. "We use it because we are descendants of Africans and because we are Americans." He added "There is a cringing from the word "Negro," especially by the young, because of the oppression into which we were born and because that name was imposed on us. There seems to be violent objection to the term among young people, who link the word "Negro" with Uncle Tom. They seldom use the word "Negro." They use 'Black' and 'African.' Some of them even object to the word 'Afro-American,' preferring the term 'Afram.'"

Is the name game real?

Will it last?

Are there substantial grounds for the violent opposition to the word "Negro"?

To answer these questions and to relate them to the whole bubbling controversy, one must go back 400 years. For Americans of African descent have been arguing about names ever since they were forcibly transported from Africa by Europeans who arbitrarily branded them "Blackamoors," "Moors," "negers," and "negros." The English word "Negro" is a derivative of the Spanish and Portuguese word negro, which means black. The Portuguese and Spanish, who were pioneers in the African Slave Trade, used this adjective to designate the African men and women whom they captured and transported to the slave mart of the New World. Within a short time, the Portuguese word negro (no capital) became the English noun-adjective "negro." This word, which was not capitalized at first, fused not only humanity, nationality and place of origin but also certain white judgements about the inherent and irredeemable inferiority of the persons so designated. The word also referred to certain Jim Crow places, i.e., the "negro pew" in Christian churches.

The reaction of the first Americans of African descent to the word "Negro" has never been adequately studied. But it appears from an examination of surviving documents that literate black people resisted the word with cunning and tenacity. The first black immigrants seem to have preferred the word "African." In surviving documents, they referred to themselves as "blacks," "blackes," and "Africans." And the first institutions organized by Americans of African descent were designated "African," viz., "The Free African Society," "the African Methodist Episcopal Church," "the African Baptist Church." The preamble of the Free African Society, which was founded in Philadelphia in 1787, began: "We, the Free Africans and their descendants of the City of Philadelphia in the State of Pennsylvania or elsewhere . . ."

The tentative efforts of Americans of African descent to define themselves in African terms were reversed suddenly and dramatically in the first two decades of the 19th century. When the American Colonization Society organized a movement to send free Africans "back" to Africa, the colored community reacted by abandoning the word African in favor of the words "coloured" and/or "free persons of colour." In 1835, the fifth annual convention of the colored people of America passed a resolution which recommended "as far as possible, to our people to abandon use of the word 'colored,' when either speaking or writing concerning themselves; and especially to remove the title of African from their institutions, the marbles of churches, and etc. . . . "Philadelphia leaders later recommended use of the term "Oppressed Americans." This advice was scorned by militant colored leaders. "Oppressed Americans!" snorted Samuel Cornish, "who are they? Nonsense brethren!! You are COLORED AMERICANS. The Indians are RED AMERICANS, and the white people are WHITE AMERICANS and you are as good as they, are no better than you."

The "oppressed Americans" were routed by the "colored Americans," and the term "colored" became the dominant word in the colored community for the rest of the nineteenth century. There were, to be sure, dissents. Frederick Douglass, the leading colored public figure, used the word "Negro" occasionally; and some eccentrics experimented with terms like "Anglo-African." For reasons that were probably connected with the tendency of "the free people of color" to withdraw from the great masses of freedmen, there was a sharp reaction to the word "colored" in the Civil War and Reconstruction periods. For a short spell, the term "negro" occupied roughly the same place in Negro life as the words "black" and "Afro-American" occupy today. In other words, it was a term of militancy, self-consciously used by black men defiantly asserting their pride of race. We are told, for example, that Blanche Kelso Bruce, the first black man to serve a full term in the U. S. Senate, refused to use the word "colored," saying: "I am a Negro, and proud of my race." Bruce's example was not followed by all Reconstruction leaders. In the North Carolina constitutional convention of 1868, James Walker Hood, one of 15 black delegates, denied that "there was a Negro on the floor of the Convention." Outraged and insulted, he insisted "that the word Negro had no significance as to color, but could only be used in a reproachful or degrading sense, and he further declared that no man on that floor knew where the term originated, since it was not found in ancient history, inspired or profane." In the South Carolina constitutional convention of the same year, T. J. Coghlan, a radical white Southerner, offered a resolution which urged that steps be taken to "expunge forever from the vocabulary of South Carolina, the epithets, 'nigger,' 'negro,' and 'yankee' . . . and to punish this insult by fine and imprisonment."

In periods of reaction and extreme stress, black people usually turn inward. They begin to redefine themselves and they begin to argue seriously about names. The post-Reconstruction period, one of the whitest times in

American history, was an archetypal expression of this process. The word "coloured" still retained a commanding position in this period, but men like Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington used the word "Negro" freely. There were also articulate exponents of the Afro-American theme, as evidenced by the founding, in 1899, of the National Afro-American League, and the Baltimore Afro-American newspaper, established in 1892. Toward the end of the century, the word "Negro" began to supplant the words "colored" and "Afro-American." It was during this period that the first national Negro organizations (the American Negro Academy in 1897 and the National Negro Business League in 1900) were founded. The founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1909 marked, it seems, the disappearing peak of the colored movement. By 1919, the Negro Year Book could report: "There is an increasing use of the word 'Negro' and a decreasing use of the words 'colored' and 'Afro-American' to designate us as a people. The result is that the word 'Negro' is, more and more, acquiring a dignity that it did not have in the past." During this same period, there was an aggressive campaign for capitalization of the word "Negro." This campaign, which was led by the NAACP, peaked in 1930 when the New York Times announced that it would print the word "Negro" with a capital letter. In an editorial (March 7, 1930), the newspaper said: "In our 'style book' 'Negro' is now added to the list of words to be capitalized. It is not merely a typographical change; it is an act in recognition of racial self-respect for those who have been for generations in 'the lower case.'"

Although the word "Negro" became a generally acceptable designation in the 1930's, there was strong opposition from militant radicals like Adam Clayton Powell, who continued to use the word "black," and from militant nationalists like Elijah Muhammad, who continued to speak of "so-called Negroes." This opposition, inchoate and unorganized, was sharpened in the '50's and '60's by the rhetorical artistry of Malcolm X and the emergence of the Black Power movement. But Malcolm X and the Black Power movement were reflections of a general crisis of identity which is similar in tone and urgency to the crises of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th.

It appears, from this short historical sketch, that the word "Negro" has been a generally acceptable term in the black or, if you prefer, the Negro community for a relatively short time. It appears also that there has been continuous and sustained opposition to the term. Contemporary critics of the word "Negro" say Booker T. Washington was primarily responsible for the campaign in which the word "Negro" supplanted the words "black," "colored," and "Afro-American." There is truth in this--the Negro Year Book and the Negro Business League were Washington projects--but it is not the whole truth. The movement for adoption of the word "Negro" was also given a strong impetus by militant radicals like W. E. B. DuBois, who was one of the founders of the American Negro Academy, and militant nationalists like Marcus Garvey, who used the word "Negro" consistently and named his organization the Universal Negro Improvement Association. As a matter of fact, the classic argument in favor of the word "Negro" was articulated by W. E. B. DuBois in a reply to a pro-African letter. Since this exchange, which appeared in the Crisis in March, 1928, capsules the main issues in the controversy, we are printing it in some detail.

THE NAME "NEGRO"

South Bend, Indiana

DEAR SIR:

I am only a high school student in my sophomore year, and have not the understanding of you college educated men. It seems to me that since THE CRISIS is the Official Organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which stands for equality for all Americans, why would it designate, and segregate us as "Negroes," and not as "Americans."

The most piercing thing that hurts me in the February CRISIS, which forced me to write, was the notice that called the natives of Africa, "Negroes," instead of calling them :Africans," or "natives."

The word, "Negro," or "nigger," is a white man's word to make us feel inferior. I hope to be a worker for my race, that is why I wrote this letter. I hope that by the time I become a man, that this word, "Negro," will be abolished.

Roland A. Barton

My dear Roland:

Do not at the outset of your career make the all too common error of mistaking names for things. Names are only conventional signs for identifying things. Things are the reality that counts. If a thing is despised, either because of ignorance or because it is despicable, you will not alter matters by changing its name. If men despise Negroes, they will not despise them less if Negroes are called "colored" or "Afro-Americans."

Moreover, you cannot change the name of a thing at will. Names are not merely matters of thought and reason; they are growths and habits. As long as the majority of men mean black or brown folk when they say "Negro," so long will Negro be the name of folks brown and black. And neither anger nor wailing nor tears can or will change the name until the name-habit changes.

But why seek to change the name? "Negro" is a fine word. Etymologically and phonetically it is much better and more logical than "African" or "colored" or any of the various hyphenated circumlocutions. Of course, it is not "historically" accurate. No name ever was historically accurate: neither "English," "French," "German," "White," "Jew," "Nordic" nor "Anglo-Saxon." They were all at first nicknames, misnomers, accidents, grown eventually to conventional habits and achieving accuracy because, and simply because, wide and continued usage rendered them accurate. In this sense "Negro" is quite as accurate, quite as old and quite as definite as any name of any great group of people.

Suppose now we could change the name. Suppose we arose tomorrow morning and lo! instead of being "Negroes," all the world called us "Cheiropolidi,"--do you really think this would make a vast and momentous difference to you and to me? Would the Negro problem be suddenly and eternally settled? Would you be any less ashamed of being descended from a black man, or would your school mates feel any less superior to you? The feeling of inferiority is in you, not in any name. The name merely evokes what is already there. Exorcise the hateful complex and no name can ever make you hang your head.

Your real work, my dear young man, does not lie with names. It is not a matter of changing them, losing them or forgetting them. Names are nothing but little guideposts along the Way. The Way would be there and just as hard and just as long if there were no guideposts,--but not quite as easily followed! Your real work as a Negro lies in two directions: First, to let the world know what there is fine and genuine about the Negro race. And secondly, to see that there is nothing about that race which is worth contempt; your contempt, my contempt; or the contempt of the wide, wide world.

Get this then, Roland, and get it straight even if it pierces your soul: a Negro by any other name would be just as black and just as white; just as ashamed of himself and just as shamed by others, as today. It is not the name--it's the Thing that counts. Come on, Kid, let's go get the Thing!

W. E. B. DuBois

DuBois' argument is, as usual, persuasive. But, in the eyes of the pro-black contingent, it is hardly conclusive. Critics of this famous exchange say DuBois' premises are dubious, to say the least. For example: He starts out with the correct premise that names are objectively unimportant. In other words, there is no necessary connection between the name and the thing. From this premise, which is objectively true, he draws a very different conclusion: that names are unimportant to people. Keith Baird, the coordinator of the Afro-American History and Cultural Center of the New York City Board of Education, and other opponents of the word "Negro" point out that modern linguistic scholarship is virtually unanimous in its findings that names and words determine, to a great extent, what we see and what we feel. They are also critical of DuBois' assertion that "wide and continued usage" can make an inaccurate word accurate. As for the eloquent conclusion, critics say that DuBois evaded the issue. Nobody doubts that the Thing is important, at least on certain levels. But the whole point of racism in America is the determination to deny human status to certain people--millionaires as well as world-famous scholars like DuBois--who have won the Thing but lack a certain Name.

DuBois was too honest and too brilliant to be content with the eloquent but evasive 1928 statement. As late as 1958, he was still wrestling with the issue of terminology. Moreover, his works (The Souls of Black Folk, The Gifts of Black Folk, Black Folk: Then and Now, Black Reconstruction) testify to a certain ambivalence about the word "Negro."

For all that, DuBois stated the problem with lucidity and power, and his words are echoed by some contemporary intellectuals. Dr. Jeanne Spurlock, a prominent psychiatrist who has been active in the freedom movement, does not believe that a change in name will change the way

Negroes experience themselves and the way others experience them. "The word 'Negro,'" she says, "means different things to different people, depending on so many things in their individual backgrounds." Some individuals, she added, may have a need, depending on their individual backgrounds, to reject the term. She has no objections to these individuals using the words "black" or "Afro-American," if the words help them to achieve a sense of identity and internal organization. Dr. Spurlock says she prefers the word "Negro," if ethnic designations are necessary. "I'm not offended by the word," she says. "I feel comfortable about being a Negro, about being black."

A similar comment came from Dr. Benjamin Quarles, professor of history at Morgan College. "One's estimation of himself," he says, "takes many forms. There are levels of sophistication on which you voice your protest and make clear your identity. For some people, the best way they can make clear their identity is by denying the word "Negro" which traditionally, they say, is a slave-oriented name. Other people may prefer what they would consider more sophisticated techniques of projecting their identity. But, nevertheless, you have to grant that it may be necessary for certain individuals to avoid the name 'Negro.' I wouldn't quarrel with them. Nevertheless, I would not myself stop using the word 'Negro,' because I see nothing wrong with it. Words change in their context. We have many words historically that once were terms of denigration. For instance, the Friends were sometimes called Quakers in derision. Instead of dodging the word, they adopted it and made it a term of great respect and meaning. I believe you will begin to see the same evolution of the word 'Negro' as Americans of African descent move into their rightful place in American society."

The to-each-his-own approach is rejected by opponents of the word 'Negro." They say that all black people are affected in the deepest reaches of their being by the collective label. And they contend that the quest for the right name is the most sophisticated level of finding and projecting one's identity. Perhaps the most articulate exponent of this view is Keith Baird, the young Afro-American expert of the New York City Board of Education. According to Baird, "The continuing depressed economic and social status of the African people in America, enforced and maintained by the dominant European-originated Americans, is symbolized and instrumentally promoted by the continuing use of the déclassé designation 'Negro.'" Baird adds: "The militant efforts being made by Americans of African descent require attention in respect of every fact or factor which confers the status of humanity on the individual--the right and power to obtain and enjoy the physical necessities of life as well as the psychological. Positive and enhancing self-regard is a psychological necessity of life, and the name borne by an individual or group can be an effective vehicle and symbol of group or individual self-regard."

Baird cites an impressive array of scholars, including Benjamin Lee Whorf, in support of his contention that language tends to prestructure thinking and acting. "We say," he adds, "that we speak as we think. In fact, we tend to think as we speak." The meaning of a word, or expression, he continues, "is what it does, that is, the effect which it produces in its hearers . . . A name can determine the nature of the response given to it by virtue of the associations which its use conjures up." Baird does not claim that the adoption of the word "Afro-American" will solve the American race problem. He does believe, however, that it will make a significant difference in the internal economies of black and white Americans. "The very act and fact of changing the designation," he says, "will cause the individual to be redesignated to be reconsidered, not only in terms of his past and his present but hopefully in terms of his future." He adds: "Designation has an important bearing on destiny."

Baird objects to the word "Negro" on two grounds: 1) The word "Negro" is a slave-oriented epithet which was imposed on Americans of African descent by slave-masters. "The word came into use," Baird says, " in connection with the enslavement of the African in the New World. The use of the word became connected with what Earl Conrad has so well called the "Negro-Concept," that grotesque conception of the African which has been shaped in the mind of the European and forced with Procrustean cruelty on the person and personality of the black American."

2) The word "Negro" is not geographically or culturally specific. "Historically," he says, "human groups have been named according to the land from which they originated. . . The unwillingness of the dominant group to recognize the humanity of the African is evidenced by the fact that when it is necessary or desired to identify Americans in terms of the land of their origin, terms such as Italian-American, Polish-American, Spanish-American, Jewish-American (referring back to the ancient kingdom and culture of Judaea), etc., are employed. In the American mind there is no connection of the black American with 'land, history and culture'--factors which proclaim the humanity of an individual." Baird denies that the English word "Negro" is a synonym for black. He says: "'Negro' does not mean simply 'black' which would be the simple, direct opposite of 'white.' We talk about a 'white man' or a 'white Cadillac'; we may talk, as many unfortunately do, of a 'Negro man,' but never a 'Negro Cadillac.'"

Baird believes the word "Afro-American" will soon supplant the word "Negro." He does not object to the term "black," which, he says, lacks the historical and cultural precision of the word "Afro-American." He is supported in this view by Richard Moore, Harlem book store owner and author of The Name Negro - Its Origin and Evil Use. Moore says the word "Negro" is so "saturated with filth," so "polluted" with the white man's stereotypes, that "there is nothing to be done but to get rid of it." He prefers the word "Afro-American" because of its "correctness, exactness, even elegance." He believes adoption of the word will force "these prejudiced European-Americans" to reevaluate black people in terms of their history and culture. "Black," Moore said, "is a loose color designation which is not connected with land, history, and culture. While I recognize it as a step forward in getting rid of the term 'Negro,' I think it is necessary to take the next step."

To take the next step, whatever that step might be, millions of Americans of African descent are going to have to search their souls and their internal maps. At the request of EBONY Magazine, Ossie Davis, the playwright-actor, searched his soul and came up with the following passionately eloquent statement:

I am a Negro. I am clean, black and I smile a lot. Whenever I want something--to get a job in motion pictures, for instance, or on television or to get a play produced on Broadway, whenever I need a political favor--I go to white folks. White folks have money. I do not. White folks have power. I do not. All of my needs--financial, artistic, social, my need for freedom--I must depend on white folks to supply. That is what is meant by being a Negro.

Malcolm X used to be a Negro, but he stopped. He no longer depended upon white folks to supply his needs--psychologically or sociologically--to give him money or lead his fight for freedom or to protect him from his enemies or to tell him what to do. Malcolm X did not hate white folks, nor did he love them. Most of all, he did not need them to tell him who he was. Above all, he was determined to make it on his own. That was why Malcolm was no longer a Negro. Malcolm was a man, a black man! A black man means not to accept the system as Negroes do but to fight hell out of the system as Malcolm did. It can be dangerous. Malcolm was killed for it. Nevertheless, I like Malcolm much better than I like myself.

In this statement, Ossie Davis, who is considered a black man by the leaders of the pro-black movement, adds a new and personal dimension to the controversy which will be settled finally by the internal movement of Americans of African descent. And in the course of that movement, on one level or another, every "Negro," and/or "black" and/or "Afro-American" is going to have to choose a name in the process of choosing his being.

VII. NEXT STEPS

TWENTY TASKS FOR WHITE PEOPLE

The following are Ben Wright's "Twenty Tasks for White People" as printed in "Let's Work Together by Nathan Wright, Jr., on pages 78 through 113. In order to receive the full benefit of the ideas presented in "Twenty Tasks," one should, of course, read the entire section.

1. Study your own historically rooted role in the vast amount of racism that exists in America today by (a) requiring that Negro and African history and culture be taught in our school systems at all levels; (b) encouraging church groups, cultural groups, civic organizations, etc., to have series of discussions on American history in relation to black people so that adults will also learn to understand themselves.

2. Associate yourselves with thinking black people who accept their own blackness. In this way, black people in every enterprise, rather than simply being imbued with the thinking current in the system that has brought us to our present chaos, can contribute creatively to that thinking.

3. Recognize that governments are not meant to be efficiency systems for building robots but should be "people-oriented" or "community-oriented" enterprises in which the people affected are consulted on--and are in some large measure in control of--urban-renewal programs and other efforts designed to meet their needs.

4. Examine or re-examine our educational system to see if it is meeting the needs of whites and blacks in the light of the vastly different and continually changing economic and social conditions in our country. White people must realize that, if they don't force some radical changes in our educational system, it is they who will carry the primary burden of increased taxes for welfare, police and fire protection, and the incalculable costs of continued urban unrest.

5. Recruit and train better men to police our cities for the good of both white and black. To allow an uneducated policeman or uniformed person to make professional human-relations decisions just won't work.

6. Support programs for self-development of black people. As long as black Americans do not join together to carry their full load in this nation and be rewarded justly, many of their responsibilities will rest on the shoulders of white America.

7. Devise ways by which both the image of black people among others and among themselves will be improved. As long as black people are regarded by others and themselves as nothing as "others," black people will have little opportunity or incentive to try to become anything more than a drain on our society.

8. Work through churches and other organizations to help fellow whites understand that it is in the interests of all that all of our society be desegregated. All men are threatened when the dignity of any man is lessened.

9. Try to eliminate the degrading welfare system as we know it today. All men should have some kind of responsibility--even if it is clearly "make-word"--before they receive any money. Earning for self spells dignity. Every man should be allowed this path to dignity. Only the completely disabled should be given assistance without a large measure of concomitant responsibility.

10. Establish urban planning departments that include competent "people-oriented" whites and blacks.

11. Rethink job-training and hiring policies in industry, business, and government. Our education system has failed many of our adults, and these agencies must take up the slack until necessary educational reforms are made. A completely new system of "community colleges" could be established for re-education of all adults who want it whether or not they even finished primary school.

12. Demand that labor unions stop discriminating, that banks alter their lending practices, that stores alter the higher price structures that are sometimes apparent in branches in black communities.

13. Facilitate Negro investment in business and especially in housing. People who own something are not prone to destroy it. Any people--if not included equitably in the system--will tend to disrupt and destroy. All that black people want is a ray of hope, some beginning at fulfillment of promises.

14. Support all self-help organizations like the Urban League, CORE, N.A.A.C.P., S.C.L.C., S.N.C.C., and others that may be purely local.

15. Accept your own inadequacies as white people. Only in this way may your own growth into greater self-sufficiency be assured.

16. Organize white leadership to respond to and encourage the new mood of self-awareness and self-respect among the leadership of the black community and to combat rampant racism in the white community.

17. Reflect on your own personal part in continuing the white culture patterns on political, social, and economic bases.

18. Do your part to help America grow into maturity for the sake of its own internal peace and the greater good that this nation can and must represent to the world.

19. Seek opportunities to fulfill your best hopes and to preserve your best principles.

20. Compensate for abuses that our historically white-controlled and white-defined society has created, in every enterprise in which we are engaged.